

ACTS ILLUSTRATION  
IN ITALY AND BYZANTIUM

LUBA ELEEN

THE Vatican Library possesses two generously illustrated thirteenth-century Latin manuscripts of the New Testament which deserve to be more widely known: Vat. lat. 39 and Vat. Chigi A.IV.74.<sup>1</sup> These books are noteworthy not only for their lively and expressive style but also for their remarkably large number of New Testament scenes, most of them placed as unframed text pictures within the columns of writing. Their most important feature is the presence in both books of dense cycles of illustrations of the Acts of the Apostles, a rare attribute indeed. Only a few other books with illustrated texts of Acts are widely known, and they are Byzantine.<sup>2</sup>

Not only do the Vatican manuscripts contain many Acts scenes, but both the Gospels and the Apocalypse are copiously illustrated as well. This article deals with the Acts cycle and its relation to Byzantine and Western iconographic traditions. Apart from the Acts scenes, it is quite apparent that these are important monuments, and that continuing study of them can help to cast light on many problems debated by art historians in recent years in the general areas of the influence of Byzantium on Italy and of the relationship between North Italian and German art, as well as in the more concentrated field of New Testament iconography.<sup>3</sup>

The iconographic and stylistic similarities between the two books leave little doubt that they are closely related and probably products of the same workshop. We are most fortunate in having internal evidence pointing to Verona as the place of origin: Lat. 39 contains a Calendar, written in the same North Italian hand as the text and strongly suggestive of Veronese derivation.<sup>4</sup> The attribution to Verona of both manuscripts is supported as well by the style of their illustrations, which, as Eduardo Arslan has observed, echoes that of other Veronese late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century frescoes and sculpture.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vatican Library, cod. lat. 39: 195 × 143 mm., 173 + iii fols., in M. Vatasso and P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, I (Rome, 1902), 48–49. Vatican Library, cod. Chigi A.IV.74: 160 × 113 mm., 236 fols., in E. Arslan, *La Pittura e la scultura Veronese dal secolo VIII al secolo XIII* (Milan, 1943), 167–71, figs. 216–24. Arslan mistakenly described Chigi A.IV.74 as a "Bible."

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Chicago, University Library, cod. 965 (the Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament), and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 102 (see notes 31, 32, 33 *infra*). I wish to thank Professor Herbert Kessler for calling to my attention Paris gr. 102.

<sup>3</sup> This article is the first of several studies I am preparing on the Vatican New Testaments; the others will deal with the iconography of the Gospel and Apocalypse scenes and with the place of the two MSS in the art of Verona.

<sup>4</sup> There are three commemorations of S. Zeno: April 12, deposition; May 21, translation; Dec. 8, consecration of the church. See *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 12 (1969), 1478–79; and G. Ederle, "San Zeno e il suo culto," *Vita Veronese*, 16 (1963), 447–50. There are also two commemorations of SS. Firmus and Rusticus, believed by the Veronese to have been martyred outside their city: Aug. 9, vigil, and May 22, translation. See *Bibl. Sanct.*, 5 (1964), 634–41. I am indebted to Professor Leonard Boyle for his suggestions about the relation of the Calendar to Verona, and for his advice on paleographical questions.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.* I wish to thank Professor Otto Demus for his advice concerning the style of Vat. lat. 39.

Arslan, in the only substantial comment on the two manuscripts, was concerned mainly with their style and with defining the individual characteristics of separate hands within each book. He stressed the derivation of these stylistic tendencies from German sources, particularly those of Salzburg. Perhaps it was Arslan's emphasis on the derivative and even decadent nature of this stylistic phase that discouraged him and other scholars from further investigation of these important manuscripts.

Arslan was undoubtedly correct in seeing several artists at work in each book, but it is also true that each is homogeneous in style, particularly in regard to the modeling of faces, and that the two manuscripts fall into the same general stylistic category. Both are very mannered interpretations of the Byzantine-influenced Romanesque "cloisonné" style of the late twelfth-century "agitated" type, which persisted in Germany and in certain parts of North Italy well into the thirteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

It is difficult to date the manuscripts precisely, primarily because both, in different degrees, perpetuate the mannerisms of the twelfth century when these had begun to be discarded in favor of greater naturalism. Analysis of the style can only lead to the general placing of both manuscripts in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Paleographical evidence also suggests that such a conclusion is acceptable.

The question of the order in which the manuscripts were written is really an academic one, since there is little doubt that both were copied from an earlier and more extensive model. There is a high degree of concurrence in their iconography, but it is improbable that one of these manuscripts was copied from the other, since each includes scenes and motifs lacking in the other. Some of these can be tested against one or more exemplars for the likelihood of their presence in a more complete model.<sup>7</sup>

The majority of illustrations are in the form of column pictures. Great care has been taken to place the illustration in closest proximity to the description of the episode it depicts, usually below it on the same page but occasionally beside it on the opposite page. Lat. 39 in particular shows a most complicated and subtle form of planning of the page (see fig. 13). The sophistication of the system suggests that the scribes and artists were working with a text-picture combination that had already been proven, again leading us to the hypothesis of an earlier manuscript model. The evidence of the Gospels and Apocalypse lends itself to a similar interpretation, so the model must also have been a complete New Testament.

The search for such a model leads us to a third manuscript relevant to

<sup>6</sup> For discussions of this particular phase of influence of Byzantine style on the West, see E. Kitzinger, "The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 25-48; O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (London, 1970), 133-43; and *idem*, "Salzburg, Venedig und Aquileja," *Festschrift Karl M. Swoboda zum 28. Januar, 1959* (Vienna, 1959), 75-82.

<sup>7</sup> See Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch in Lat. 39 (fig. 13) and Paul and Silas in the Stocks in Chigi A.IV.74 (fig. 37) for examples of scenes appearing in only one of the Vatican MSS, but also in related cycles. The Appendix (following p. 278 *infra*) lists all of the Acts subjects in the two Vatican New Testaments.

this study, located in the Giustiniani Collection in Venice.<sup>8</sup> It is also a complete New Testament, but is composed of two sections taken from codices of separate origins. The part containing the text and illustrations of Acts exhibits iconographic, stylistic, codicological, and paleographic affinities with the Vatican manuscripts, although most of the illustrations are line drawings rather than paintings; without doubt it was made in the same Veronese workshop. Its Acts cycle is even more extensive than that of the other Verona New Testaments, comprising—with two exceptions—every episode depicted in the two Vatican books and five more in addition.

In my opinion, the Giustiniani codex is likely an earlier effort by the draftsman of Lat. 39, although the overpaintings of the latter are probably by another hand. The differences between the two manuscripts in the compositions of some of the pages suggest that certain of the awkward experiments in the Giustiniani manuscript were later resolved in Lat. 39. Yet the earlier book is unlikely to have been the archetype from which the two later works derive. The omission of several episodes and the variance in the treatment of certain motifs point to the Acts section of the Giustiniani New Testament as an older sister to the other manuscripts, rather than a progenitor. Its precedence in relation to Lat. 39, together with the evidence provided by the paleography, make a date of *ca.* 1200 appropriate.<sup>9</sup>

To sum up the differences between these books pertinent to the investigation of the picture recension: the Giustiniani cycle is the most complete, and it and the Chigi New Testament are both clearer in their approach to narrative subject matter than is Lat. 39. There is an element of fantasy in the latter, which, though appealing, reveals that it is less dependent on the text and, presumably, on the common model than are the others.

An example that brings out the basic similarity in style and iconography of the three manuscripts, and at the same time shows their individuality of interpretation, can be seen in the scene illustrating St. Peter Healing the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate (Acts 3:1–8 [figs. 1, 2, 3]). According to the text, Peter, accompanied by John, encounters a lame beggar who lies every day by a temple gate called the Beautiful Gate. Peter commands the man to walk, and then pulls him up by the right hand. In all three versions the artist has been careful to show the man's twisted legs, to equip him with a crutch, and to specify that Peter has grasped his right hand. The Chigi artist (fig. 2), who is more modest but usually more correct in his approach, places all three figures in front of a clearly defined gateway topped by two domes. The artist of Lat. 39 and of the Giustiniani codex (figs. 1, 3), in contrast,

<sup>8</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Alberto Falck for his enthusiastic cooperation in showing me the manuscript and in providing photographs, and to Mr. Edward Garrison and Dr. Carlo Bertelli for the assistance they gave me in the discovery and examination of it. See the Appendix for a list of Acts scenes in the Giustiniani codex.

<sup>9</sup> Only one of the scenes in the Giustiniani MS is painted (the Ascension, fol. 121v), but the result is similar to the Chigi style, leaving little room for doubt that the drawings in the former were intended to be colored. Conversely, patches where the paint has flaked in Lat. 39 reveal drawings similar to those in the Giustiniani manuscript. See note 46 *infra* and figs. 31, 49 for examples of scenes in the Giustiniani MS in which standard motifs are lacking.



has taken advantage of the two-column width allowed in the larger manuscripts to create an elaborate structure, a predilection which is exhibited elsewhere; and he has tried to represent the church and gateway in a frontal view, so that the figures must stand alongside the building, rather than in the gateway. In Lat. 39 he also has arranged the hands of Peter and the lame man in a very complicated way, another of his idiosyncrasies. The long crutch held by the man in the Giustiniani version is an anomaly; such departures from the norm indicate that this book is not itself the model for the others.

Together, the three manuscripts illustrate twenty-seven Acts episodes, distributed throughout the text and dealing with the activities of Peter and Paul as well as those of the lesser apostles. There is evidence, however, that the Acts scenes in the Verona manuscripts go back to an even more extensive cycle, the existence of which is reflected in the Rotulus in the Cathedral Archives in Vercelli.<sup>10</sup> This Rotulus, which has been given a certain amount of attention in recent years, copies scenes painted in the eleventh or twelfth century on the walls or vault of the church of Sant'Eusebio in Vercelli. There are in the Roll twenty-seven scenes representing thirty-four episodes. Some of these are of a striking similarity to the Verona cycle, despite the vicissitudes undergone by the Vercelli drawings which were copied from frescoes, possibly in poor condition at the time and themselves probably based on a manuscript source.

A good example of the affinity between the two cycles can be seen in the episode already introduced: the Healing of the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate. In a comparison of the Vercelli scene (fig. 4) with that of the Chigi manuscript (fig. 2), we can see that the relationship of the figures to each other and to the building is similar. Peter raises the lame man by the latter's elongated right arm, holding his own garment with his left hand. The lame man is in the gateway, clearly separate from the rest of the building, as in the Chigi representation, and there is a comparable domed element on the right, although it is linked with a basilican structure in the Roll. Several details—the gesture of Peter in raising the man and of John behind him, the architecture of the gate, and the placement of the figures near it—are important in establishing the links between the two monuments and with other Italian examples and in distinguishing these from comparable Byzantine types. The placing of the man atop a flight of stairs in the Vercelli version should be noted, a motif I shall discuss below.

A second piece of evidence connecting the Verona manuscripts with the Vercelli cycle can be seen in the representations of Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch (Acts 8:26–38). The Vercelli Roll (fig. 11) presents an elaborated sequence of four episodes based on the text: an angel tells Philip to go on a journey, during which he meets an Ethiopian Eunuch reading Isaiah; Philip

<sup>10</sup> C. Cipolla, "La Pergamena rappresentante le antiche pitture della Basilica di S. Eusebio in Vercelli," *Miscellanea di Storia Italiana*, 37 (1901), 3–12; R. W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* (Haarlem, 1963), 95–96; and V. Viale, *Opere d'arte preromanica e romanica del Duomo di Vercelli* (Vercelli, 1967), 28–29. See the Appendix for a list of Acts scenes in the Vercelli Roll. My gratitude is due Professor Viale for his help in obtaining information about the Vercelli Roll.

sits in the carriage with him and explains the text; later Philip baptizes the Eunuch. The Verona artist has used a similar model for his scenes of Philip explaining Isaiah: in Lat. 39 (fig. 13) and the Giustiniani manuscript (fig. 12) the two men sit facing each other in a carriage pulled by a horse, Philip on the left and the Eunuch on the right—but, in his distinctive manner, the painter of the later book has lavished all his attention on the horse trappings and put the beard on the wrong character. The story is continued in the Giustiniani codex with a representation of Philip baptizing the Eunuch. Although the details of outdoor setting shown in the Vercelli scene are missing, it is certain that what is intended is a similar baptism in natural water.

In most of those scenes which are common to both the Vercelli Roll and the Verona manuscripts the iconography is similar. The main difference is that the Vercelli cycle has a slight advantage in the number of episodes. It is, therefore, reasonable to suggest that the Vercelli–Verona Acts cycles go back to a common source, and that the greater range of the Vercelli illustrations probably reflects the fact that the cycle was denser in its earlier stages than in the extant New Testament manuscripts, some illustrations having been lost or eliminated deliberately in the course of transmission. It should be noted that the earliest Verona manuscript preserves a greater number of scenes, so that the process of abbreviation in the course of time is demonstrated further.

Another aspect of the change is the loss of narrative precision. In the early stage of the recension, certain events were represented by a continuous series of actions, as in the example of Philip and the Eunuch. There are other remnants of short multiple-episode sequences in both the Rotulus and the New Testaments: for example, the double scenes of Peter imprisoned and then released in the Verona manuscripts (figs. 29, 30), and the series of episodes telling the story of Peter and Cornelius in the Roll.<sup>11</sup> The general tendency of the New Testaments, however, is to cut down on the number of episodes and to choose one to epitomize the whole.

There is also iconographic evidence pointing to the conclusion that the Vercelli illustrations reflect an earlier phase in the development of the cycle. One example of a change in iconography which can be dated fairly precisely occurs in the representation of the Conversion of Paul (Acts 9:2–25).<sup>12</sup> The artists of the Vercelli Roll and the Verona manuscripts (figs. 16–19) have chosen different combinations of episodes in what was apparently a continuous narrative cycle, known in both East (figs. 21, 22) and West (fig. 20),<sup>13</sup> showing

<sup>11</sup> Cipolla, *op. cit.*, pl. v.

<sup>12</sup> The Conversion of Paul is one of the few Acts scenes for which there is substantial literature. See E. von Dobschütz, "Die Bekehrung des Paulus," *RepKunstw*, 5 (1929), 87–111; H. Buchthal, "Some Representations from the Life of St. Paul in Byzantine and Carolingian Art," *Tortulae: Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten*, ed. W. N. Schumacher (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1966), 43–48; and J. E. Gaehde, "The Turonian Sources of the Bible of San Paolo Fuori le Mura in Rome," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 5 (1971), 359–400, especially 386–92. Recent writing on this subject is summed up by H. L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours* (Princeton, 1977), s.v. "Conversion of Paul," 111–24. It is also discussed in my forthcoming book, *The Illustration of the Pauline Epistles*.

<sup>13</sup> See notes 59, 60 *infra*.

the career of Paul from his audience with the High Priest in Jerusalem (9:2) to his experiences in and eventual escape from Damascus (9:25). The high point of the action in this sequence is the actual moment of conversion, when Paul is struck down and blinded by rays issuing from heaven. The figure of Paul as he falls is similar in the Roll and the Chigi manuscript (figs. 19, 17), taking into account the usual stiffness of the former. The major difference between the two is the presence of the horse in the Verona manuscript. In the thirteenth century Paul tends to be represented as a mounted warrior, struck from his horse by the light from heaven. This motif appears for the first time in the later twelfth century, and the examples in the Verona manuscripts are transitional forms, since the horse simply has been added as a background element to one of the traditional schemes of Paul's conversion.<sup>14</sup> The conversion scene in the Vercelli Roll, in which Paul is a pedestrian, in contrast, is of the earlier type. Thus, the content of the subject matter as well as its extent supports the hypothesis that the Vercelli iconography goes back at least to the middle of the twelfth century, and could even be earlier.

One conclusion that can be drawn from this evidence is that the Vercelli wall paintings themselves stemmed from an illustrated Acts manuscript. Not only do the Verona New Testaments attest that these once existed, but the detailed attention to the specifications of the text in the Roll also implies an intimate connection with the written word. Finally, all of the scenes in the Roll are drawn from the Acts text, and from a balanced reading of Acts, in contrast to the usual practice in monumental decoration, which tends to be selective. Of the twenty-seven scenes in the Roll, thirteen are devoted to Paul, nine to Peter, and five to other Acts subjects. The balance in the Verona New Testaments is similar.<sup>15</sup>

I shall argue below that the Acts iconography of the Verona New Testaments and the Vercelli Roll derives from a complete Byzantine cycle of Acts illustrations, imported into Italy in the eleventh or twelfth century where it became naturalized, partly through the acquisition of certain obviously Western traits, and partly through the standardization of variant motifs in individual scenes.

<sup>14</sup> Should the common model of the three Verona New Testaments, which would have been made prior to the Giustiniani codex of *ca.* 1200, also have included a horse in the conversion scene, it would have been one of the earlier monuments to do so. The earliest extant versions of the Conversion of Paul in which a horse appears seem to be concentrated in the North Italian-South German region. Some of the prominent examples are: the Admont Bible (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. Ser. Nov. 2, 702, fol. 199v), possibly made as early as the 1150s (G. Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei* [Leipzig, 1913; repr. Stuttgart, 1969], I, 72–83); the Gumpert Bible (Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. 121, fol. 387v), made in Salzburg before 1195 (*ibid.*, 129–42, fig. 151); and the relief sculpture attributed to Benedetto Antelami on the episcopal throne in Parma, made *ca.* 1180 (G. de Francovich, *Benedetto Antelami* [Milan, 1952], 165–66). The stylistic affinities to Salzburg of the Vatican New Testaments have already been observed (*supra*, p. 256).

<sup>15</sup> E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale* (Palermo, 1960), 44, 128, note 65, has suggested that the practice of giving equal or near-equal emphasis to Peter and Paul is characteristic of the Byzantine outlook. The apparent bias in favor of Paul in the works discussed here is probably a reflection of the situation in the Acts text itself, which devotes more pages to Paul's career than to that of Peter.

Before proceeding to the examination of related Byzantine examples, it is pertinent to ask whether the unified cycle of Acts illustrations is indeed "Italian," and whether there are other reflections of it in the peninsula. There is no lack of evidence that events from the careers of the two chief apostles once enjoyed a modest popularity as subjects for monumental schemes of decoration in Italy, particularly in those edifices dedicated to them. Dorothy Glass has reviewed many of these monuments in an article devoted to the archivolt sculpture at Sessa Aurunca.<sup>16</sup> Unlike the frescoes at Vercelli, these monumental schemes usually did not reflect a balanced reading of the Acts as a whole, but each was assigned a selection of subjects according to the particular saint venerated in that place, as in Sessa Aurunca, which is dedicated to St. Peter, so that the theme of the sculptures centers on Peter's life. In the nave frescoes of San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome, in contrast, all of the Acts scenes were of the life of Paul. In addition, many of the monumental schemes tend, like Sessa Aurunca, to include apocryphal scenes illustrating the *Passio Sanctorum Petri et Pauli*.<sup>17</sup> These two factors—the selectivity applied to the canonical episodes and the inclusion of apocryphal material—tend to militate against the perpetuation of a unified cycle derived from a single model. As Ernst Kitzinger has demonstrated in connection with Monreale, there is a tendency for such decoration to be drawn from heterogeneous sources;<sup>18</sup> therefore, it is not surprising to find that exact repetitions of the Vercelli-Verona iconography are rare. But this does not mean that it stands alone in Italian art.

In her analysis of the canonical scenes in the Sessa Aurunca archivolt, Glass came to the conclusion that the Vercelli Rotulus was the only monument which displayed a fairly wide degree of kinship with the sculptures. This affinity is principally that of a similar choice of subject, the translation into another medium and the idiosyncratic approach of the sculptor resulting in iconographic changes in the individual scenes.<sup>19</sup> However, this fairly vague affiliation between the two monuments becomes firmer when the three Verona manuscripts are added to the comparison. Scenes that Glass noted as present in the sculptures but disappointingly missing in the Rotulus appear in the New Testaments: namely, the Martyrdom of James, Herod Ordering Peter's Imprisonment, and Peter's Liberation from Prison (figs. 29, 30, 31). Many of the representations in the New Testaments and the sculptures are similar in iconography; this is particularly true of the Chigi and Giustiniani manuscripts, strengthening the argument that they are usually more faithful to

<sup>16</sup> "The Archivolt Sculpture at Sessa Aurunca," *ArtB*, 52 (1970), 119–31. The monuments listed by Glass on p. 121 are decorated with scenes from the life of Peter. To these should be added the frescoes with Pauline scenes which are thought to have been painted in the nave of San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome in the fifth century (see note 56 *infra*).

<sup>17</sup> *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet (Leipzig, 1891; repr. Darmstadt, 1959), I, 119–77.

<sup>18</sup> *Monreale*, 46–48.

<sup>19</sup> See the Appendix for a list of the ten canonical scenes at Sessa Aurunca (Glass, *op. cit.*, *passim*, figs. 2–4, 6, 9–11). All of the episodes depicted in the sculptures also occur either in the New Testaments or the Vercelli Roll, with the exception of Cornelius Visited by an Angel.

the model and closer to the mainstream of the tradition. For example, in the depiction of St. Peter Healing the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate, the composition of which is reversed at Sessa Aurunca (fig. 8), the two-domed architectural setting with a separately defined gate is like that in the Chigi manuscript (fig. 2), and the lame man is crouching similarly in the gate with a small crutch while Peter pulls him up by the hand.

The New Testaments provide the answer to questions raised by Glass in connection with the scenes of the Martyrdom of James and of Peter's Liberation from Prison. In all of the Verona manuscripts (figs. 29, 30, 31) the two episodes appear together as part of a continuous series of events illustrating the text. Herod's gesture of command motivates the punishment of both James and Peter: "He [Herod] beheaded James...and then...proceeded to arrest Peter also" (12:2-3). As the executioner raises his sword over James's head, Peter is shown in the two Vatican codices being thrust into prison and later liberated by an angel. At Sessa Aurunca and in the Giustiniani depiction (fig. 31), in contrast, one of the events—the Arrest of Peter—is omitted, apparently representing a conflation of the more extended episodic versions.<sup>20</sup> Sessa Aurunca's repetition of the combination is another argument in favor of a textual pictorial cycle as a major influence on the sculpture, and there is little doubt that the iconography of the pictorial model was closely related to that of the Verona New Testaments.

That there were books with this imagery in many parts of Italy is attested by two additional manuscripts which reflect the Vercelli-Verona Acts cycle, albeit in abbreviated and sometimes altered form: both are Bibles, one probably from Bologna, of the mid-thirteenth century, formerly in the collection of Major J. R. Abbey;<sup>21</sup> and the other a Neapolitan work of the third quarter of the fourteenth century in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, MS 1191 (Theol. 53).<sup>22</sup> Both manuscripts are fully Gothic in style, and therefore incline toward naturalism and anecdotal detail, and in the case of the fourteenth-century manuscript toward elaboration of background and settings; these are features which tend to distort and weaken the purity of the iconographic tradition. Nevertheless, certain characteristic features can still be identified.

Unlike the Verona New Testaments and the Bible in Vienna, in which the text of Acts itself is accompanied by illustrations, the Abbey Bible uses Acts

<sup>20</sup> See the scene in Vienna 1191 (fig. 32) for another example of the conflated type, indicating its place in the transmitted tradition.

<sup>21</sup> Formerly Abbey Collection cod. 7345, and before that cod. 51 in the Dyson Perrins Collection, lot 61 at the Perrins sale, part II (Sotheby's, Dec. 1, 1959). See G. F. Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins* (Oxford, 1920), 138-45, pls. LIII-LV; see also J. J. G. Alexander and A. C. de la Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J. R. Abbey* (London, 1969), 12-19, who support Warner's earlier suggestion that the Bible was made in Bologna, probably before 1262, although the authors of the Sotheby sale catalogue suggested Padua as the place of origin.

<sup>22</sup> See H. J. Hermann, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, V. Die italienischen Handschriften des Dugento und Trecento*, pt. 3, *Neapolitanische und toskanische Handschriften der zweiten Hälfte des XIV. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1930), 250-88, figs. 105-21.

scenes in connection with the Pauline and Petrine Epistles, the pictures placed in both historiated initials and the lower margins. The practice of combining Acts subjects with the Pauline Epistles goes back at least to a Carolingian precedent, and there are a number of twelfth- and thirteenth-century French and English Bibles in which these scenes appear in the historiated initials of the Epistles.<sup>23</sup> In these, as in the Abbey Bible, only Pauline scenes from Acts are used with the Pauline Epistles; the Abbey Bible also has one Peter scene illustrating his letters.<sup>24</sup>

There are, therefore, a number of French elements in the Abbey Bible, but there are also reminders of the perseverance of the Italian iconography. The scene of the Stoning of Stephen (Acts 7:57–60 [fig. 50]), for example, is strongly reminiscent of those in the Verona New Testaments (figs. 47, 48, 49): Saul, enthroned on the left, directs the stoners, who attack Stephen from behind; similar gestures reappear in the Bolognese Bible version.

The Vision of Peter (Acts 10:10–16 [fig. 28]) is also like that in the Chigi manuscript (fig. 27): Peter sits on the ground at the left looking at the creatures of every kind depicted as if painted on a sheet. This fanciful representation of the beasts, specified by the text to be *in* the sheet, is one of the hallmarks of the Italian cycle.

There are certain indications that the Acts iconography of the Abbey Bible goes back to an earlier stage in the development of the cycle than that represented by the Verona New Testaments, to which most of the similarities apply. For example, Paul is shown as a pedestrian in the depiction of his conversion, without a horse in the background—an old-fashioned approach in the mid-thirteenth century. Another indication that older models might have been involved is the tendency for miracle scenes to be elaborated in brief sequences of two episodes, also a characteristic of the Vercelli Roll.

An example of the rendering of such a subject in two episodes in the Abbey Bible is the depiction of the Miracle of the Evil Spirit (fig. 39). This sequence shows the exorcism of an oracular spirit from a slave-girl (Acts 16:16–18) and its outcome, the Flogging of Paul and Silas at Philippi (16:22–24), in which the mob, stimulated by the scandal of the exorcism, attacks Paul and his companion. It is in the latter episode that the kinship between the Abbey Bible and the Verona manuscripts (figs. 36, 37, 38) is most clearly revealed. In the text, Paul and Silas are stripped and beaten, then confined in the stocks in prison. Two Verona books—Lat. 39 and the Giustiniani codex—provide precedents for the Abbey miniature. They show Paul and Silas, praying in the Vatican manuscript, hands bound in the Giustiniani, driven toward the prison by men wielding switches. Their garments hang from the waist in a special way,

<sup>23</sup> For the Carolingian Bibles, see note 59 *infra*. I shall discuss the subsequent history of this combination of text and image in my forthcoming *Pauline Epistles*.

<sup>24</sup> See the Appendix for a list of the ten Acts scenes in the Abbey Bible. All of them can also be found in the Verona New Testaments and/or the Vercelli Roll, with the exception of Paul's Escape from Damascus (fol. 437<sup>v</sup>). Alexander and de la Mare also identify the illustrations for 2 Thess. (fol. 442<sup>v</sup>) and 2 Tim. (fol. 444<sup>v</sup>) as scenes from Acts, but it is more likely that they represent themes in the letters themselves.

leaving the upper parts of their bodies bare. Although the architectural setting and the figure of Silas are eliminated in the Abbey Bible marginal illustration, its affinity with the Verona manuscripts is firmly attested by the figure of Paul—upright and stripped to the waist, his hands raised to pray—and by the dress, pose, and gestures of his tormentors. This vertical, as opposed to prone, type of flogging scene seems to be peculiar to Italian iconography, as will be shown below.

It is apparent that the Acts iconography in the Abbey Bible is closely related to that of the Verona New Testaments. Despite its slightly later date it is not itself a descendent of the New Testaments, since it displays a number of features which are characteristic of the cycle at an earlier stage.

The fourteenth-century Neapolitan Bible leads us again to the south of Italy, reinforcing the supposition that the Italian provenance of the iconography transcends regionalism. Vienna 1191 is a complete Bible, and there are eleven framed scenes from Acts comprising thirteen episodes—five of Paul, four of Peter, and four of others—placed in the lower margins at appropriate points in the text of Acts.<sup>25</sup> This manuscript is in an advanced proto-Renaissance style with a concomitant freedom from many of the passive copying habits of medieval artistic tradition, so that some of its scenes have nothing in common with corresponding depictions in the Vercelli-Verona cycle, and there are several illustrations which do not appear at all in the latter. Nevertheless, to a surprising degree, there are echoes of the iconography of the earlier monuments. Three of the scenes display significant agreement.

The Stoning of Stephen (fig. 51) is of a type similar to that in the Verona New Testaments and the Abbey Bible (figs. 47–50): Stephen kneels on the right, and the stoners make their familiar gestures behind him.<sup>26</sup> In addition, the composite scene illustrating the Martyrdom of James and the Release of Peter (fig. 32) is remarkably like the Giustiniani version (fig. 31): Herod on the left orders the executions, James is beheaded by an executioner in the center, and Peter is pulled from prison by a hovering angel on the right.

Finally, the depiction of St. Peter at the Beautiful Gate (fig. 6) is also similar to the Vercelli-Verona type (figs. 1–4). The lame man kneels in front of the temple, abandoning his short crutch, and is pulled up by the right hand of Peter, accompanied by John. As in the Vercelli Roll, the man is at the top of a flight of stairs, and the building is of a basilican type, although there is no separate gate in the Neapolitan Bible.

This brief review of some of the important examples of the Italian iconography has shown that a unified Acts cycle was transmitted in Italy from at least the twelfth, and perhaps as early as the eleventh, century, and that it

<sup>25</sup> See the Appendix for a list of the thirteen Acts scenes in Vienna 1191. The episodes not included in the Verona New Testaments are: Paul and a Disciple in a Ship (fol. 441<sup>v</sup>); Paul Before the High Priest (fol. 443<sup>r</sup>); Storm at Sea (fol. 444<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>26</sup> The figure of Saul has been replaced by an earlier episode: Stephen arguing with an opponent (Acts 6:8–10).

was associated with the text of Acts itself, a factor which tended to strengthen the cohesiveness of the cycle so that its various components remained recognizable and linked. However, we should not exclude the possibility that new scenes or variations on existing themes were invented or imported in the course of the long history of contact between Italy and Byzantium. Some of the differences between the members of the Italian group can be accounted for in this way. The overall impression, nevertheless, is of unity rather than diversity.

The mosaics with scenes from Acts which decorate the aisles of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo and the south and north chapels at Monreale<sup>27</sup> cannot be placed unreservedly in the Italian recension presented here. Of all the sequences of Acts subjects, the Sicilian are the most difficult to categorize. Although undoubtedly the product of an integration of Byzantine and Western iconography, neither the mixture nor the resulting synthesis is the same as that which produced the Vercelli-Verona cycle. Ernst Kitzinger has observed that the Sicilian subject matter derives from a variety of sources, a situation particularly true of Monreale which "shows a greater admixture of local themes and at the same time a fresh draught from the wellspring of Byzantine iconography."<sup>28</sup> This characterization aptly sums up the Acts imagery.

Most of the Sicilian scenes are better understood in relation to Byzantine rather than to Italian iconography. At this point, however, it is appropriate to introduce two subjects which establish that there are links, albeit complex ones, with the Italian group as well.

The first example is a scene already discussed: the Healing of the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate. Palermo's representation (fig. 7) is similar but not identical to those in the Vercelli-Verona group (figs. 1-4); here the lame man crouches in a doorway holding a short crutch (there is no room for the rest of the church because of the narrow dimensions of the panel). The principal difference between the Palermo and other Italian examples is that Peter gestures instead of raising the man with his hand. This dissimilarity will prove to be significant, pointing to the affinity of the Sicilian mosaics with the purely Byzantine sphere rather than with the Italian group. Monreale is similar (fig. 5). Here there is room to show the entire church, in front of which the man is begging; it is of the basilican type, and has a separate domed gate similar to but not as eccentric as the one in the Vercelli Roll. Again, Peter, with John behind him, merely gestures.

<sup>27</sup> O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (New York, 1950), 294-99, figs. 40-43, 77-79, 81-83; Kitzinger, *Monreale*, 36-50, figs. 5-13; and *idem*, "The Mosaics in the Capella Palatina in Palermo," *ArtB*, 31 (1949), 269-92. See the Appendix for a list of the eleven canonical Acts scenes in the Peter-Paul cycle. All, with the exception of Paul's Flight from Damascus, are also in the Verona New Testaments and the Vercelli Roll; there is one additional scene—Paul Handing Letters to Timothy and Silas—which is present at Monreale alone, and, according to Kitzinger, is probably an *ad hoc* addition and not based on the text of Acts (*Monreale*, 36).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.



The second scene is one which also occurs in the Vercelli Roll and the Chigi and Giustiniani New Testaments, the Raising of Tabitha (Acts 9:36–41). According to the text, Peter wakes Tabitha from the dead by commanding her to rise. She opens her eyes, whereupon Peter gives her his hand to help her to her feet. Both the Sicilian representations (figs. 45, 46) show the final incident: Tabitha is sitting up in bed; Peter, accompanied by a disciple and watched by a group of weeping women, grasps Tabitha's hand with his left<sup>29</sup> and blesses her with his right. The Vercelli Roll (fig. 44) records the previous moment, i.e., Peter gesturing at Tabitha; it includes another episode from the text depicting a group of people showing Peter the garments made by Tabitha.

A more striking affinity is revealed by the scene in the Chigi New Testament (fig. 43), which is almost identical to the Monreale depiction in composition, pose, gesture, and even in such details as the cloth draped at the head of the bed and the peculiar rounded head-covering worn by the cured woman. The main differences are that Peter lifts her with his right rather than his left hand, and the mourning women have been reduced to one.

The Giustiniani version (fig. 42) seems to represent a transitional stage between the Vercelli Roll and the Sicilian and Chigi scenes. As in the Roll and the Sicilian mosaics, the Giustiniani depiction of the Raising of Tabitha is juxtaposed to the Raising of Aeneas, although both scenes are simpler in the Giustiniani and Sicilian examples. The gesture of Peter, who touches Tabitha's upraised hands in the Giustiniani version, also stands halfway between the two alternatives of gesturing (Vercelli) and grasping (Sicily and Chigi).

Is it possible that the sequence Vercelli–Giustiniani–Chigi represents a natural evolution, independently arrived at in the Sicilian mosaics? Alternately, the Tabitha scene in the Chigi manuscript could be one of the instances of fresh importation of a newly available Byzantine model similar to that used by the Sicilian mosaicist, if not based on Monreale itself.<sup>30</sup> There is undoubtedly some connection between the Sicilian mosaics and the Italian cycle. This connection is probably that of a common derivation from a Byzantine source.

Recent controversy concerning the range and antiquity of medieval Acts illustration has been summed up in an article by Herbert Kessler in which he concludes, in agreement with Kurt Weitzmann and Hugo Buchthal, that it is likely that there was a richly illustrated Greek book of Acts.<sup>31</sup> The

<sup>29</sup> At Palermo Peter grasps her right hand, at Monreale her left hand.

<sup>30</sup> See note 42 *infra* for a reference to the Byzantine origins of the depiction of the Healing of Tabitha in the Chigi New Testament.

<sup>31</sup> H. L. Kessler, "Paris. Gr. 102: A Rare Illustrated Acts of the Apostles," *DOP*, 27 (1973), 211–16. See also *idem*, *Illustrated Bibles* (note 12 *supra*), 119–21; K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (Princeton, 1947; rev. ed. 1970), 142, 194; *idem*, "The Selection of Texts for Cyclic Illustration in Byzantine Manuscripts," *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, D.C., 1975), 76–77; and Buchthal, "Some Representations" (note 12 *supra*), 48.

evidence I shall present also supports this likelihood, since the comparison of the Italian material with Acts scenes in Byzantium leads to the conclusion that the Italian cycle is based on an extensive, coherent Byzantine cycle, modified and augmented by Western themes and tendencies and resulting in a synthesis that can be termed "Italo-Byzantine."

The Byzantine Acts monuments are of two kinds: that is, isolated scenes, which are found in a number of works—as is true also in the West—and extended narrative cycles, of which there are relatively few. Four of the latter are relevant to the present study.

The Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament in Chicago, of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, contains the only densely illustrated text of Acts.<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately, this book tends to fluctuate between narrative and symbolic approaches to subject matter; those scenes in which the latter prevails are quite different from our narrative and anecdotal Italian cycle. For the most part, the iconography is either of a different tradition than those scenes described above or else so distorted that its origin is obscured. There are, however, several individual scenes similar to those in the Vercelli-Verona group.

A more satisfactory source of comparison can be found in the twelfth-century Greek manuscript of the Acts and Epistles, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 102.<sup>33</sup> It has only four Acts scenes combined in a full-page frontispiece (fig. 9), but these few are important for a reconstruction of Byzantine narrative iconography, insofar as they agree with and differ from the Italian cycle. All four of the scenes in Paris. 102 are present in the Italian works, and they tend to exhibit a family likeness.

The Acts frescoes in the fourteenth-century church at Dečani in Serbia are worthy of more intensive study than has been accorded them.<sup>34</sup> Although late in date, they undoubtedly reflect material of a much earlier period, and therefore are useful in the search for a more complete picture of Byzantine Acts iconography. Of all the Eastern examples, Dečani is closest to the Vercelli-Verona iconography, thus establishing a link between the Italian and the earlier Byzantine representations of similar subjects.

The final extended Byzantine cycle to be considered here is literary rather than pictorial. The "Painter's Manual" of Mt. Athos, the best-known of

<sup>32</sup> University of Chicago Library, cod. 965; see *The Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament*, ed. E. J. Goodspeed, D. W. Riddle, and H. R. Willoughby (Chicago, 1932); H. R. Willoughby, "Codex 2400 and its Miniatures," *ArtB*, 15 (1933), 3-74; and *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections*, ed. G. Vikan (Princeton, 1973), no. 45 (with bibliography). This MS also has been studied recently by A. Weil Carr, *The Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament: Studies Toward the Reattribution of Chicago, University Library, MS 965* (Diss. University of Michigan, 1973). There are thirteen Acts scenes preserved, which are listed in the Appendix, and there must have been four or five additional scenes on the excised pages (Willoughby, "Codex 2400," 67).

<sup>33</sup> Kessler, "Paris. Gr. 102"; and the exhibition catalogue, *Byzance et la France médiévale* (Paris, 1958), no. 31. The Acts scenes are: Peter Healing a Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate; the Martyrdom of James; Peter's Liberation from Prison; and the Stoning of Stephen.

<sup>34</sup> V. R. Petkovitch, "Un cycle des peintures de l'église de Dečani" [in Serbian with a French summary], *Bulletin de la Société Scientifique de Skoplje*, 7-8, Section des Sciences Humaines, 3-4 (1930), 83-88. Petkovitch listed twenty-one scenes, although some of them were in ruinous condition and the identifications are problematic. See the Appendix for the subject matter.

several Byzantine artists' manuals, was evidently written by Dionysius of Fournia in the eighteenth century, but it is thought by its editors and interpreters to reflect medieval subject matter.<sup>35</sup> The eleven canonical scenes from the lives of Peter and Paul described in it are germane to the present study, in that they, too, help to isolate similarities and differences between the Byzantine and Italo-Byzantine cycles. In fact, the evidence of the Italian scenes helps to affirm the authenticity of the "Painter's Manual," which has often been questioned.

Another lengthy cycle is found in the ninth-century edition of the *Sacra Parallela* of John of Damascus, now in Paris.<sup>36</sup> Although its seventeen scenes from Acts often represent the same subjects as those in other Byzantine works and in the Italian cycle, the iconography tends to be imprecise in setting and action.<sup>37</sup> While of undoubted value for the reconstruction of the tradition of Acts illustration in Byzantium, the *Sacra Parallela* is not included in the present study, which concentrates on Byzantine material related to the Italian cycle.

Of the manuscripts with isolated scenes from Acts, several are key witnesses to the history of Acts illustration. They include three versions of the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, one from the ninth century in the Vatican Library, and two from the eleventh century at Mt. Sinai and in the Laurentian Library in Florence;<sup>38</sup> the tenth-century Menologion of Basil II, in the Vatican Library;<sup>39</sup> and *Codex Ebnerianus*, a twelfth-century edition of the New Testament in Oxford.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *The "Painter's Manual" of Dionysius of Fournia*, ed. P. Hetherington (London, 1974), 66–67, s.v. "The Miracles of the Apostle Peter" (five canonical and two apocryphal scenes): "Peter curing the man lame from his birth"; "Peter killing Ananias and Sapphira"; "Peter raising Tabitha"; "Peter baptising Cornelius and those with him"; "Peter saved from prison by the angel"; "Peter killing Simon Magus"; "Peter, crucified head downward, dies"; and "The Miracles of the Apostle Paul" (six canonical and one apocryphal scene): "Paul called by the Lord on the road"; "Paul baptised by Ananias"; "Paul, lowered from the walls in a basket, flees from the hands of the Jews"; "Paul blinding the magician Bar-Jesus"; "Paul healing the woman with the spirit Python"; "Paul, having shaken off the viper that bit him into the fire, burns it"; "St. Paul dies by the sword." For an appraisal of the text tradition of the Painter's Manual, see V. Grecu, "Byzantinische Handbücher der Kirchenmalerei," *Byzantion*, 9 (1934), 675–701.

<sup>36</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. gr. 923; see K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), 80; and also Kessler, "Paris. Gr. 102," notes 6 and 7 for recent information on the *Sacra Parallela*. A full consideration of the Acts material in this important MS awaits Kurt Weitzmann's forthcoming publication.

<sup>37</sup> See, e.g., the depiction of Peter Healing the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate (Kessler, *ibid.*, fig. 2), in which Peter gestures at the man, already standing, who gestures in return; the scene lacks the particularity of the imagery in most of the works discussed here.

<sup>38</sup> Vatican Library, cod. gr. 699; Mt. Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, cod. 1186 (Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei*, 4, 38, 58–59, figs. 16, 388); and Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, cod. Plut. 9, 28 (in *Byzantine Art, an European Art* [Athens, 1964], no. 366). The Acts episodes in the Cosmas MSS are the Stoning of Stephen, Saul Receives Letters from the High Priest, the Conversion of Paul, and Paul Led to Damascus.

<sup>39</sup> Vatican Library, cod. gr. 1613. See *Il Menologio di Basilio II*, Codices e Vaticanis Selecti, VIII (Turin, 1907). The Acts scenes in the Menologion are Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch (p. 107), the Stoning of Stephen (p. 275), and the Martyrdom of James (p. 185).

<sup>40</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T. infra I.10 (misc. 136), which has three scenes from Acts used as headpieces: the Ascension (fol. 231v), introducing the Gospel of Luke; Peter's Liberation from Prison (fol. 292v), with the Epistles of Peter; and the Conversion of Paul (fol. 312v), with the Pauline Epistles. See C. Meredith, "Illustrations of Codex Ebnerianus: A Study in Liturgical Illustration of the Comnenian Period," *JWarb*, 29 (1966), 419–24. Buchthal, in "Some Representations" (note 12 *supra*), discusses the Conversion of Paul in this and other Greek MSS.

It immediately becomes obvious that there is no single Byzantine type for each scene. Nonetheless, certain common types and related groups can be discerned, particularly for those scenes which are popular.

As far as the range of the Byzantine cycles is concerned, none of them precisely duplicates the selection of scenes in the Vercelli–Verona group, but almost all of the Italian scenes do occur in one or another of the Byzantine monuments. Conversely, the lists of the Byzantine Acts scenes add only a few episodes to those in the Italian manuscripts. Only the most general conclusions can be made concerning the relationship between the choice of scenes in the East and West, but it is evident that most of the moments of dramatic crisis and vigorous action recounted in Acts found pictorial expression, and that examples of these are to be found equally in both groups. It is in the confrontation of key scenes that the underlying similarity between the two can be explored.

Certain representations are striking in their likeness. A comparison of the depictions of the Baptism of Paul by Ananias (Acts 9:19) in the Vercelli Roll (fig. 19), the Chicago New Testament (fig. 23), and Dečani (fig. 24) brings out their mutual resemblance: in all three, Paul is standing naked in a cistern-shaped font (stone in the two Byzantine examples, possibly wooden in the Roll) and Ananias stands at the left, holding his garment with his left hand; he raises his right hand to bless Paul in the Chicago manuscript, but to touch Paul's forehead in the Vercelli Roll and at Dečani. A description of similar iconographic elements is given in the "Painter's Manual."<sup>41</sup>

The representation of Peter in the Vision of Peter (Acts 10:10–16) in Lat. 39 (fig. 25) also resembles a scene in the Chicago New Testament (fig. 26). In the latter, Peter kneels and prays on a hill with a building in the background. The Italian version has eliminated the hill, so that Peter is suspended in midair, but the pose is identical. The main difference is in the depiction of the cloth filled with animals, which is like a flat, painted banner in Lat. 39 but in the form of a rounded basket in the Greek example. The two-dimensional interpretation of the animals, also to be found in the Chigi New Testament and the Abbey Bible, is one of the distinguishing features of the Italo-Byzantine iconography.

Confirmation of the Byzantine roots of a third Italian subject comes from a written source alone. The "Painter's Manual" describes the Miracle of the Raising of Tabitha (Acts 9:36–41) in terms which relate it to the scenes in the Chigi manuscript and the Sicilian mosaics (figs. 43, 45, 46): "A tall house; at the top of it is a woman on a bed, and Peter taking her by the left hand, blesses her with his right hand. Women stand round, widowed and poor, holding tunics and other garments which they show to Peter."<sup>42</sup> The Sicilian representations are slightly closer to the account in the Manual in depicting Peter's use of his left rather than his right hand. It should be noted that the description in the Manual differs from that in the Bible text which mentions

<sup>41</sup> "Painter's Manual," ed. Hetherington, 66.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* The Vercelli Roll (fig. 19) actually depicts the display of garments.

that Peter asks the mourning women to leave the room before he performs the miracle. The consistent nonadherence to this specification indicates even more strongly the possibility of a common model for Sicily, the Chigi scene, and the description in the "Painter's Manual." In the Chicago New Testament (fol. 116<sup>v</sup>), in contrast, the episode is reduced to its barest essentials: Peter gestures at Tabitha who is sitting up in bed. The Verona and Sicilian examples apparently perpetuate a Byzantine type which has not survived in any Eastern works of art.<sup>43</sup>

Another category of imagery consists of subjects which, in the process of translation into Western idiom, have undergone changes in accordance with Romanesque stylistic limitations and Western iconographic practice. An examination of the depictions of the story of Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch (Acts 8:26–38) in the Menologion of Basil II and at Dečani (figs. 15, 14) reveals the Dečani iconography as accurately reflecting earlier Byzantine tradition; the Vercelli–Verona scenes (figs. 11, 12, 13) also inherit this tradition, but adapt it in a characteristic manner. In the Menologion and at Dečani the Ethiopian is shown driving a carriage pulled by a team of horses (four horses in the Menologion, two at Dečani). Philip, nimbed and beardless, sits at the Ethiopian's left, holding the text of Isaiah in his right hand and speaking into the Ethiopian's left ear. Some understanding of perspective was required to convey successfully the positions of each of a team of horses, arranged in depth, as well as the complex relationship between the two characters, with Philip situated in a deeper plane and partially obscured by his companion. Similar skills were required to depict the landscape setting. There is little doubt that the fourteenth-century fresco derives from an earlier model resembling the picture in the Menologion.

In its conversion into a less sophisticated Western pictorial language, as exemplified by the Vercelli Roll (fig. 11), Lat. 39 (fig. 13), and the Giustiniani New Testament (fig. 12), the problem of space is solved by reducing the number of horses to one and flattening out the figure composition so that the two men face each other on the same plane, the Ethiopian neglectfully turning his back on his driving. One motif reveals that the Vercelli version is closer to a Byzantine model than are the Verona miniatures: the carriage in the former can be recognized as a two-wheeled *currus* similar to that at Dečani and in the Menologion, whereas in the more evolved Verona versions it has been turned into a four-wheeled cart.

The Philip narrative continues with a scene which forms a further link between the Byzantine and Italian representations: at Dečani (fig. 24), in the Roll (fig. 11), and—by implication—in the Giustiniani codex (fig. 12), Philip is shown baptizing the Ethiopian in a running spring set in a mountainous landscape.<sup>43a</sup> It is clear, therefore, that the Eastern and Western Philip sequences are related; the evidence presented here also points to the possibility that the

<sup>43</sup> See the Appendix for episodes included in the "Painter's Manual" and the Italo-Byzantine iconography, but absent in existing Byzantine art.

<sup>43a</sup> Baptism outdoors, rather than in the usual font, is implied by the poses in fig. 12 (see p. 259 *supra*).

Philip narrative was once illustrated at length by a series of episodes in other Byzantine manuscripts.

Influences akin to those discussed in connection with the Philip episodes were at work in transforming one of the Eastern versions of the Stoning of Stephen (Acts 7:58–8:1) into the Western type. Sufficient examples exist of this scene to demonstrate both the kinship between the two groups and the changes undergone in the course of transmission. In the Verona New Testaments and the Abbey Bible, as in Paris. 102, the Menologion of Basil II,<sup>44</sup> and the Dečani frescoes (figs. 9, 47–52), the depictions of Stephen kneeling and praying, facing toward the right, are similar; the hand of God emerges from heaven in a number of examples. Similar, too, are the poses and actions of his executioners attacking him from behind.

In all of these versions Saul is shown seated at the left directing the stoners. The main difference between the Eastern and Western types is that in the former Saul is depicted in a landscape seated on the ground, gesturing at the executioners whose coats are gathered at his feet (figs. 9, 52), whereas in the Italian versions Saul is enthroned.<sup>45</sup> The Vatican manuscripts (figs. 47, 48) show one of the mob bringing the coats to him; two consecutive moments described in the text are therefore represented. That Byzantine iconography also included the earlier episode (the Laying of Coats) is supported by an example cited by Kessler in his discussion of this subject in the eleventh-century version of Cosmas Indicopleustes in Florence, which illustrates the Stoning of Stephen with two episodes.<sup>46</sup> In the first, Saul, seated on a stool at the left, gestures at a group of executioners, some of whom lay their coats at his feet; in the second scene, the standard version of the actual Stoning of Stephen, similar to those in Paris. 102, the Menologion, and Dečani, is depicted. Kessler concludes that the Cosmas manuscript in Florence with its two Stephen episodes is the most faithful witness of a sixth-century archetype. The Italian examples lend support to the notion that an illustrated Byzantine Acts also included the episode of the Laying of Coats. In its translation in the West several processes can be observed to have influenced the final appearance of the imagery. One is simplification, in that the landscape background used in every one of the Byzantine examples is eliminated and the number of protagonists reduced. Another is conflation, so that the original two scenes become a two-episode single scene, the figure of Saul doing double duty in receiving the cloaks and directing the executioners. In this scene, too,

<sup>44</sup> For the Stoning of Stephen in the Menologion, see Kessler, "Paris. Gr. 102," fig. 11.

<sup>45</sup> There are variant versions of the Stoning of Stephen in both East and West. Two Byzantine examples—Vatican gr. 699 (Cosmas Indicopleustes), fol. 82v, and the Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament, fol. 114v—have symmetrically organized compositions with Stephen running in the center; the version in a ninth-century edition of the Acts and Epistles—Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14345, fol. 1v—shows Stephen beaten as well as stoned in the presence of Saul, who is standing. These different types serve to emphasize the affinities between the Byzantine and Italo-Byzantine versions discussed here. Vienna 1191 departs slightly from the norm (see note 26 *supra*), but it is basically of the type described in this article.

<sup>46</sup> Florence, Laur. cod. Plut. 9, 28, fols. 170r, 170v; see Kessler, "Paris. Gr. 102," 215, figs. 13, 14. The absence of The Laying of Coats in the Giustiniani codex is another indication that it is not the model for the other Verona MSS.

the Italian versions apparently preserve material older than that in most extant Byzantine monuments.

There are several topics which are central to this inquiry, in that the comparison between Byzantine and Western examples not only brings out the underlying kinship between the two groups but also establishes certain criteria by which the Italo-Byzantine variation can be defined. One is a scene which has already been emphasized in this article: St. Peter Healing the Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate. As described above (p. 257f.), the Vercelli Roll and the Verona New Testaments (figs. 1–4) follow the text closely in showing Peter pulling the man to his feet, as do the scenes in two associated Italian monuments, Sessa Aurunca and Vienna 1191 (figs. 8, 6). Two of the Byzantine examples—Paris. 102 and Dečani (figs. 9, 10)—are similar in composition, showing the lame man in front of a building on the right and Peter accompanied by John on the left. They are different in that Peter is not shown physically pulling up the man. What is actually depicted is the previous moment in the narrative, “And Peter said, ‘...in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, walk’” (Acts 3:6), rather than, “Then he grasped him by the right hand and pulled him up” (3:7). The Sicilian mosaics (figs. 5, 7) are like the two Byzantine examples cited here. That there was a tradition in the East for a representation of Peter curing the man with a gesture is reinforced by the “Painter’s Manual”: “A temple with steps; in front of the doorway of the temple, at the top of the steps, a man is sitting with his head covered with a veil; a wallet hangs from his shoulder, and he raises his hands and eyes to Peter. On either side of him two crutches lean against the temple wall, and Peter stands before him blessing with one hand, and holding a closed scroll in the other hand. John the Divine, a beardless young man, is behind him.”<sup>47</sup>

The insistence in many of the examples on placing the action at the top of a flight of steps is important. It should be noted that the Bible text does not call for the steps, and therefore the perpetuation of this feature is evidence of a tradition of copying. The steps occur not only in the “Painter’s Manual” but also in Paris. 102, the Vercelli Roll, and Vienna 1191. The presence of the steps points to an early origin of this iconography, since it possibly reflects a correct understanding of the forms of antique temple architecture. Linked to the steps is the depiction of the temple as a basilican structure in Paris. 102, the Vercelli Roll, Vienna 1191, and Monreale. The steps and the basilica must therefore be regarded as features of Byzantine iconography retained at Vercelli, albeit awkwardly. They have disappeared in the more evolved Verona manuscripts, although the motif of the joined hands used at Vercelli is continued.

As far as the joining of the hands of Peter and the lame man is concerned, this might represent an alternate, and subsequently lost, Byzantine type, or perhaps it is an improvement devised in the West to give the scene greater contrast with the Pauline Miracle of the Lame Man (Acts 14:7–9), where the cure is accomplished by means of a gesture. A third possibility is that originally

<sup>47</sup> “*Painter’s Manual*,” ed. Hetherington, 66.

it was a two-episode miracle scene, as are many others in this cycle. In any case, this feature represents a clear distinction between the Italo-Byzantine and Byzantine types.

Another characteristic apparently peculiar to the Italo-Byzantine Acts iconography alone is the tendency for certain of the subjects to be reorganized into vertical compositions. This inclination is visible particularly in the scene representing Peter's Liberation from Prison (Acts 12:6–10), combined in the Verona New Testaments with the depiction of James's Martyrdom and, in the two Vatican manuscripts, Peter's Arrest (12:2–3 [figs. 29, 30, 31]). The freeing of Peter is among the most frequently illustrated Acts subjects in both East and West, and a number of variations exist. There are enough examples in which at least two related episodes are shown to suggest that originally this was one of the sections of Acts accorded an expanded sequential treatment. In the usual combination of episodes the first scene shows Peter seated or reclining in the midst of sleeping guards in prison, occasionally with his feet in chains; he is visited by an angel, who is either inside (figs. 9, 33)<sup>48</sup> or outside (figs. 34, 35)<sup>49</sup> the prison. Kessler has observed that the text does not call for the guards to be asleep, and suggests that the many pictorial interpretations which include this motif are affiliated.<sup>50</sup> In the second episode Peter, already free, is led away by an angel holding his hand.<sup>51</sup> In those Byzantine examples in which the two liberation scenes are combined into one, Peter is seated in the prison and the angel reaches through the prison walls to grasp his hand (fig. 35).<sup>52</sup>

The Verona New Testaments (figs. 30, 31) show their kinship with the Byzantine examples in the reiterated motif of the sleeping guards. All of the Verona codices and Vienna 1191 have a composite scene of Peter in prison and simultaneously led out of it by an angel, in the manner of the scene in the Chicago New Testament. In these examples Peter is shown standing rather than seated, the element that sets apart the Italo-Byzantine from other representations of the same subject. It is possible that this compositional solution was in response to technical problems. There must have been difficulty in fitting four episodes into two column spaces, since Peter's Liberation is combined with the scenes of Herod Ordering the Persecution of James and Peter and the Martyrdom of James. Each manuscript presents a different solution, but always the final scene of Peter and the angel is crowded into and beyond the available space. There is not enough room for a seated figure of Peter, so he is made to stand in the narrow space allotted to the prison. The spatial problem no longer existed for the artist of Vienna 1191 (fig. 32) where the panels did not have to be fitted into the columns of text, but nevertheless

<sup>48</sup> See, e.g., Paris gr. 102, Dečani, Codex Ebnerianus (Meredith, *op. cit.*, fig. b), and Sessa Aurunca (Glass, *op. cit.* [note 16 *supra*], fig. 9).

<sup>49</sup> See, e.g., the Sicilian mosaics (Demus, *Norman Sicily* [note 27 *supra*], figs. 41B, 82B, 82C).

<sup>50</sup> "Paris. Gr. 102," 213; see Paris. gr. 102, the Sicilian mosaics, Chigi A.IV.74, the Giustiniani codex, and Sessa Aurunca.

<sup>51</sup> At Palermo, Monreale, and Dečani.

<sup>52</sup> E.g., in the Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament, fol. 119v.



Peter is still standing, in accordance with what was probably by then an established Italian tradition.

Numerous scenes of flogging provide other instances of subjects which seem to have been converted from a horizontal to a vertical format in the Italo-Byzantine monuments. The Verona New Testaments and the Abbey Bible (figs. 36–39) have scenes showing Paul and Silas—Paul alone in the last—beaten as they are driven into prison (Acts 16:22–24). In the Vercelli Roll Paul and Silas are also standing as they are flogged, as is Paul during a later beating in Jerusalem (21:30).<sup>53</sup>

The single Byzantine example which might be used for comparison is somewhat problematic: it is a scene in ruinous condition at Dečani (fig. 41). V. R. Petkovitch has speculated that it might depict the beating of Paul and Barnabas (Acts 14:19) or of Paul and Silas (16:22–24).<sup>53a</sup> Whatever the exact subject, there is no doubt that a flogging is represented and that the victims are in a prone position. Without providing conclusive evidence, this example suggests that the victims in Byzantine flogging scenes were shown lying on the ground.

The evidence presented here strongly reinforces the possibility that the Italo-Byzantine iconography descended from an Eastern cycle of Acts scenes wider in scope than that in extant Byzantine manuscripts. This cycle is likely to have been more extensive, not only in the number of subjects chosen for illustration but also in the continuous sequential treatment accorded individual episodes.

The analogy of the Italo-Byzantine iconography has raised into prominence a related group of Byzantine works, of which Dečani is the most complete. Other monuments repeating major themes of the Dečani Acts cycle are: Paris. gr. 102, the Menologion of Basil II, and Codex Ebnerianus.<sup>54</sup> The Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament and the *Sacra Parallela* fall into a different category, although there is obviously some intermingling of iconographic themes.

A high degree of correspondence between the Italian iconography and that of the Dečani frescoes suggests that both descend from the same archetype, and as integrated cycles, not merely as individual scenes.<sup>55</sup> Like the Vercelli Roll, Dečani is exempt from the selective principle usually characteristic of monumental schemes; it reflects a reliance on the entire text of Acts and is

<sup>53</sup> See Cipolla, *op. cit.* (note 10 *supra*), pls. IV, I.

<sup>53a</sup> *Op. cit.* (note 34 *supra*), 87.

<sup>54</sup> The Vatican and Sinai Cosmas MSS are like the Dečani group in their depictions of the Conversion, but dissimilar in the Stoning of Stephen and Paul Led to Damascus, while the Florence MS is similar in all of these instances, lending support to Kessler's contention that it is closer to the narrative Acts cycle from which the Cosmas iconography descends (Kessler, "Paris. Gr. 102," 215).

<sup>55</sup> Petkovitch, discussing Dečani in 1930, wondered if its Acts iconography could have been influenced by the West (*op. cit.* [note 34 *supra*], 88). This idea was suggested to him by the mere presence of such an elaborate Acts cycle, which he, not being familiar at that date with the many parallels in Byzantine manuscripts, thought was a purely Western monopoly.

limited to canonical subjects. Therefore, it is possible that its model was a manuscript. This hypothetical illustrated Acts probably would have been, like the Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament, a posticonoclastic Byzantine manuscript. It is beyond the scope of the present study to inquire whether its Acts cycle itself went back to a preiconoclastic model, but the material presented here can be of some assistance in the search for such a model.

The question might be asked whether the similarities in the extended Acts cycles in Italy and Byzantium can be explained, not by the importation of a posticonoclastic cycle into Italy in the eleventh century but through common descent from a single early archetype. The evidence of Acts imagery in the West points to a qualified negative.

If an extensive cycle of Acts subjects did indeed exist in the West in the Early Christian era, it does not seem to have been transmitted as a whole, either through the copying of manuscripts or through monumental art. With the important exception of a short section of the text—Acts 9:1–25, dealing with the Conversion of Paul and the events preceding and following it—only isolated scenes occur in the West previous to the modest flowering of Acts imagery between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, of which the Italian monuments are prominent examples.

Central to the problem of Early Christian Acts iconography is the elaborate cycle of Pauline subjects which occupied the left wall of the church of San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome from Early Christian times, known today only from watercolors made in the seventeenth century.<sup>56</sup> The watercolor copies must be used with extreme caution, as they incorporate a heavy component of Cavallini's—and probably other—restorations, as well as distortions resulting from the poor condition of the frescoes at the time of copying.

The iconography of the San Paolo frescoes, in general, does not closely resemble that of the Italo-Byzantine cycle, and, where similar subjects occur, they do not provide a clear-cut proof of the antiquity of the San Paolo imagery. A case in point is a motif discussed above. We have seen that the flogging scenes in the Italo-Byzantine recension differ from the Byzantine in that the victims are upright rather than prone. Scenes of punishment by beating in the San Paolo copies are, like the Byzantine, of the prone variety.<sup>57</sup> One of them, depicting Paul and Silas being flogged—Paul prone with his hands in blocks, Silas turning to face their tormentors (fig. 40)—is similar to the prone flogging scene at Dečani (fig. 41). Does this mean that the San Paolo scene can be interpreted as a fifth-century ancestor of the Byzantine iconography, or does it demonstrate Cavallini's use of Byzantine models? A detailed study is needed of all of the San Paolo scenes in the light of recent discussions by Weitzmann, Kessler, Buchthal, and in this article before an answer to the question can be attempted. In any case, the San Paolo frescoes cannot be

<sup>56</sup> These are preserved in the Vatican Library, cod. Barb. lat. 4406. See S. Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom*, Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana, 18 (Vienna-Munich, 1964), 55–64, figs. 366–407.

<sup>57</sup> Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 4406, fols. 97r, 100r, 101r (*ibid.*, figs. 378, 381, 382).

used to demonstrate descent from a Western tradition for the Italo-Byzantine iconography as a whole.

One section of the Acts cycle, however, describing the activities of Paul before and during his ministry in Damascus,<sup>58</sup> does have an earlier history in the West. From the time of its appearance in the Vivian Bible before 846 and in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura (fig. 20) about 20 years later,<sup>59</sup> the standardized iconography of this section of text was known to Western copyists and appeared continuously in illustrations of Bibles and other types of books. While it can be argued convincingly that the sequence also exists in Byzantium (figs. 21, 22),<sup>60</sup> suggesting a common archetype,<sup>61</sup> the differences between the Byzantine and Western types are of interest here, since it is in these scenes in the Italo-Byzantine group that the strongest westernizing ideas appear.

One difference can be seen in the choice of scenes. Both Eastern and Western sequences begin with a depiction of Saul Receiving Letters from the High Priest in Jerusalem (Acts 9:1–2); this is followed by what is sometimes a multiple-episode representation of the Conversion of Paul (9:3–7), combined with Paul Led Blind to Damascus (9:8). These three scenes comprise the limits of the single-page composite narratives in Byzantine manuscript illustration,<sup>62</sup> but the continuing history of Paul in Damascus is recorded in individual scenes and in the complete cycle at Dečani. It is at this point that the extant examples in East and West differ. In the Carolingian cycle four episodes are shown as taking place in Damascus: the Dream of Ananias (Acts 9:10–16), Paul Healed by Ananias (9:17–18), Paul Preaching in Damascus (9:20–22), and, in the San Paolo Bible (fig. 20), Paul's Escape from Damascus (9:25). The Byzantine sequences, on the other hand, seem not to have included the Dream of Ananias, and to have substituted Paul's Baptism by Ananias (9:19 [figs. 23, 24])<sup>63</sup> for Paul Healed By Ananias; Paul's Escape from Damascus is not represented in surviving Byzantine art, but is mentioned in the "Painter's Manual."

The Vercelli Roll (fig. 19) includes both the Healing (Carolingian) and the Baptism of Paul by Ananias (Byzantine), shown as separate moments, and it is apparently the earliest Western monument to do so, although the practice became common in the twelfth century.<sup>64</sup> It is possible that the inclusion of

<sup>58</sup> See note 12 *supra*.

<sup>59</sup> Kessler, *Illustrated Bibles* (note 12 *supra*), 111–24. For the Vivian Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. lat. 1, fol. 386<sup>v</sup>), see W. Köhler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1930–33; repr. 1963), I, pt. 2, *Die Schule von Tours*, 219–20; and for the Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura, fol. 310<sup>v</sup>, see Gaehde, *op. cit.* (note 12 *supra*), 386–92.

<sup>60</sup> The best-known Byzantine versions are in the Cosmas MSS: Mt. Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, cod. 1186, fol. 128<sup>v</sup>; and Vatican Library, cod. gr. 699, fol. 83<sup>v</sup>; a related interpretation is to be found at Dečani. Buchthal, *op. cit.* (note 12 *supra*), has introduced other Byzantine examples.

<sup>61</sup> See Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex* (note 31 *supra*), 194; Kessler, "Paris. Gr. 102," 211; and *idem*, *Illustrated Bibles*, 119–21.

<sup>62</sup> The only Byzantine MS to have a three-episode Damascus sequence is the version of Cosmas Indicopleustes at Mt. Sinai (see Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei* [note 36 *supra*], fig. 388); the examples in the Vatican (fig. 21) and in Florence lack the first episode.

<sup>63</sup> See, e.g., the Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament, fol. 115<sup>v</sup>; and Dečani.

<sup>64</sup> Other twelfth-century examples in which both scenes were included are: Troyes, Bib. Mun., cod. 2391, fols. 214<sup>v</sup>, 217<sup>v</sup>; the Monreale mosaics (the episode is actually the moment previous to the

both of these scenes in the Roll, together with another Carolingian Damascus episode—the Dream of Ananias—signifies a synthesis of Western and Eastern elements, although it is equally possible that it merely reflects the Byzantine Damascus sequence at an earlier and more complete stage than in any of the extant Byzantine works. The Verona codices use the baptism, rather than the healing.

More significant than the survival or disappearance of individual scenes as distinguishing features of variation in subject matter are the qualitative differences reflecting attitudes toward these subjects. It is in this respect that the Pauline sequences in the Italian manuscripts are most strongly Westernized.

The most important of these indications of a different spirit is the way in which Paul's conversion is depicted. In the West, this moment is invariably shown as a personal experience, felt with strong emotion; it varies in mood from the mild trance of the Vivian Bible<sup>65</sup> to the ecstatic seizure of the San Paolo Bible (fig. 20). In contrast, the Byzantine interpretation of the same event shows Paul in the position of *proskynesis*, a ritual obeisance to God (fig. 21), with the personal and dramatic features avoided. The Italian examples lean toward the Western type.

Paul, as he is struck down by rays from heaven in the Vercelli Roll (fig. 19), is in a trance-like state similar to that in the related scene in the Vivian Bible. The Verona New Testaments (figs. 16, 17, 18) follow the Carolingian precedents in mood as well as in details of iconography. In fact, the Pauline conversion sequence in Lat. 39 and the Giustiniani codex (figs. 16, 18) are so impressively like that in the ninth-century San Paolo Bible (fig. 20) as to suggest direct affiliation. In composition, the Giustiniani page bears a close resemblance to the upper register and the first scene in the middle register of the Carolingian manuscript, and the physiognomy of Paul is virtually identical in Lat. 39 and the San Paolo Bible. Moreover, his wildly thrashing figure at the instant of his conversion in the Verona manuscripts astonishingly recalls the same moment in the Bible.

Analogy with the San Paolo Bible also helps to explain the depiction of Paul Led to Damascus in the Verona New Testaments. In the Bible Paul is led to the gates by one companion, two other men following. The foremost of the followers appears to have moved forward to embrace Paul in the Giustiniani version, but the poses and gestures are similar to those in the Bible. The tenderness of these figures, who embrace Paul in addition to guiding him, are typical of the more personal approach of Western iconography. Paul's dress in the Italian miniatures is like the informal costume of the Carolingian Bibles, instead of the dignified long tunic and pallium of the Byzantine versions.

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Healing: Ananias is shown approaching Paul); and the *Hortus Deliciarum* (Herrad von Landsberg, *Hortus Deliciarum*, ed. A. Straub and G. Keller [Strasbourg, 1879–99], fol. 189v.

<sup>65</sup> Köhler, *Schule von Tours*, pl. 74.

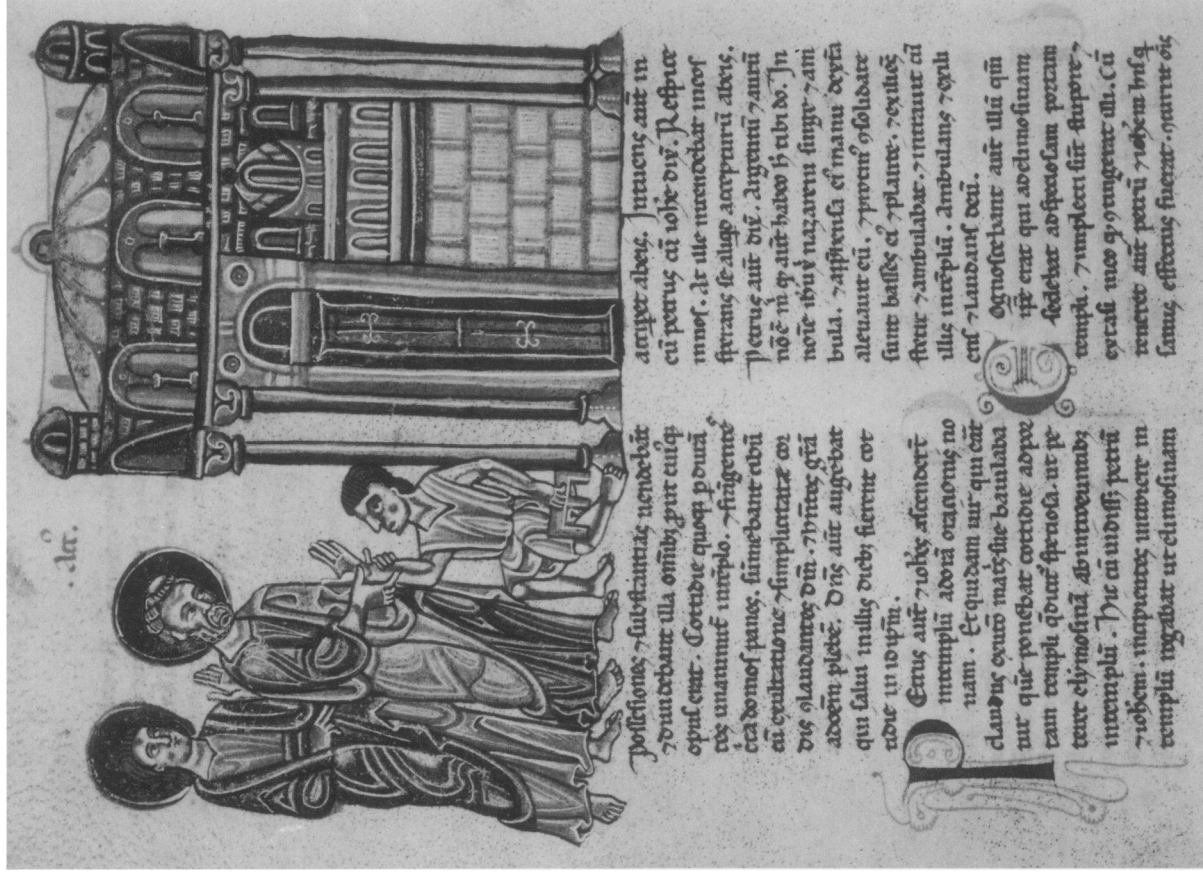
It should be noted that the Sicilian mosaics are strongly Byzantine in their Pauline sequences, particularly in the use of *proskynesis* for the Conversion. The Western elements here are more problematic.<sup>66</sup>

The Italo-Byzantine Acts iconography synthesizes two traditions. The greater part of its imagery derives from a Byzantine Acts cycle imported into Italy, probably in the eleventh or twelfth century, and adapted to the conditions of Italian book production and the capacities of Italian artists. The Pauline conversion sequence, in contrast, going back at least to Carolingian times, is Western; its features can be noted in all of the members of the Italo-Byzantine group, but most strongly in the Verona manuscripts and other works produced after 1200. Now that the various components of this synthesized cycle have been isolated, the next stage of the investigation is to attempt to trace them back to their beginnings. But that is a task that must be left to another occasion.<sup>67</sup>

The University of Toronto

<sup>66</sup> Demus, *Norman Sicily* (note 27 *supra*), figs. 40A–42B, 77A–79, 81B–83. They include Paul's Escape from Damascus, absent in the Italo-Byzantine cycle but featured in the San Paolo Bible and the "Painter's Manual"; Monreale has both Paul with Ananias and the Baptism of Paul (see note 64 *supra*).

<sup>67</sup> Portions of this study were presented as papers at two meetings of the Conference on Medieval Studies of Western Michigan University in 1974 and 1975. I wish to thank the Canada Council for Research Grants that enabled me to work in Italy in the summers of 1973 and 1975, and to express my gratitude to Professor Leonard Boyle, who gave generously of his knowledge in many hours of discussion about the Verona codices, and to Professor Stephen Vickers and Miss Ann Hilty, who read the manuscript and gave valuable advice.



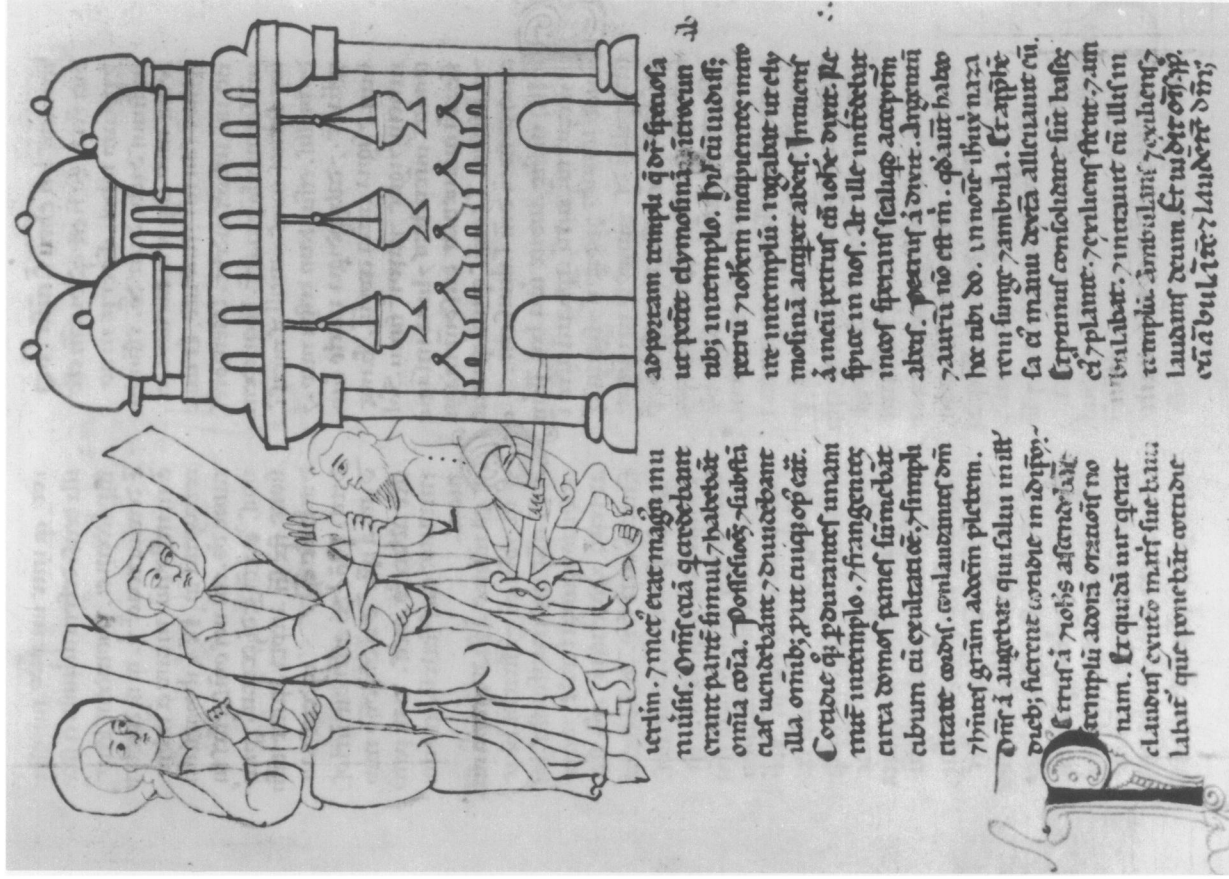
1. Vatican Library, cod. lat. 39, fol. 86v



2. Vatican Library, cod. Chigi A.IV.74, fol. 119r

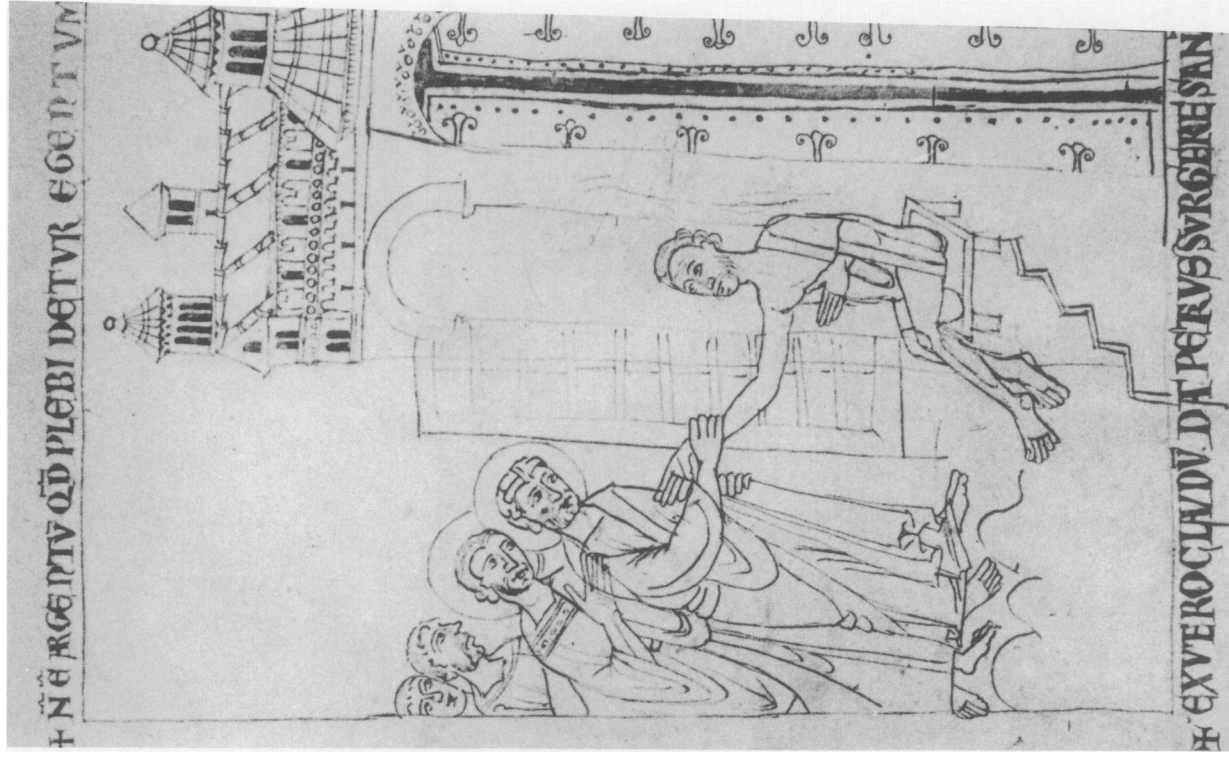
Peter Heals a Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate



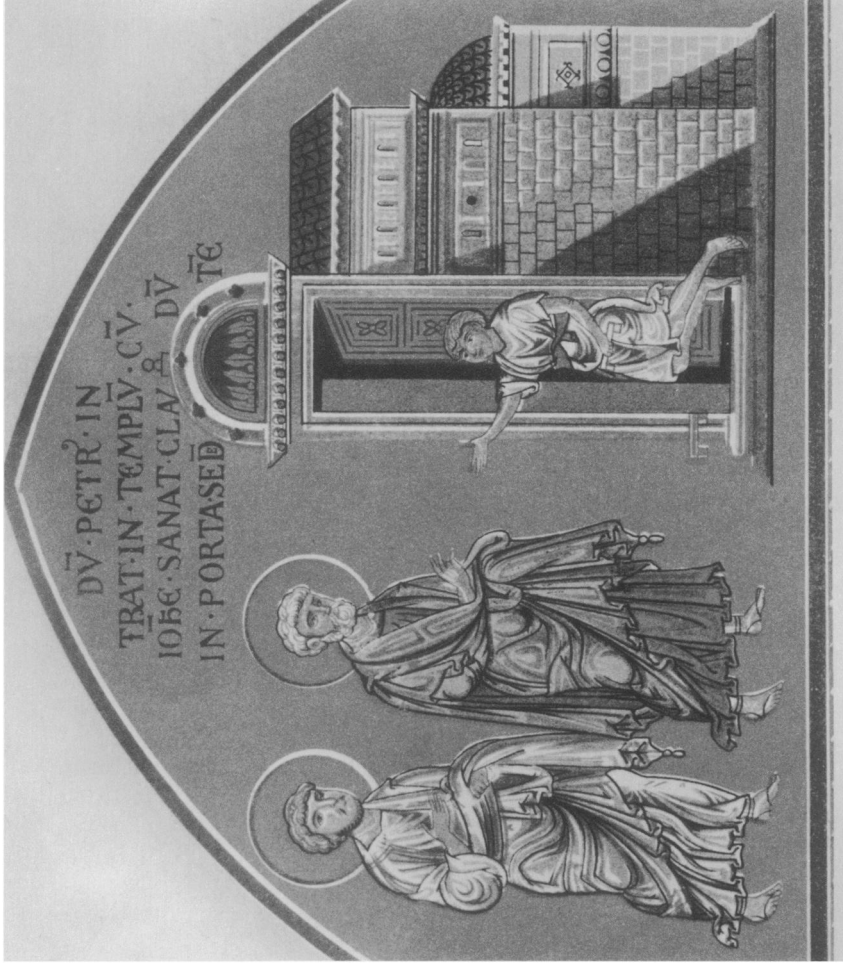


3. Giustiniani Codex, fol. 123v

Peter Heals a Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate



4. Vercelli Rotulus



5. Monreale, South Chapel



6. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1191 (theol. 53), fol. 433r

Peter Heals a Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate





7. Palermo, Capella Palatina. Mosaic

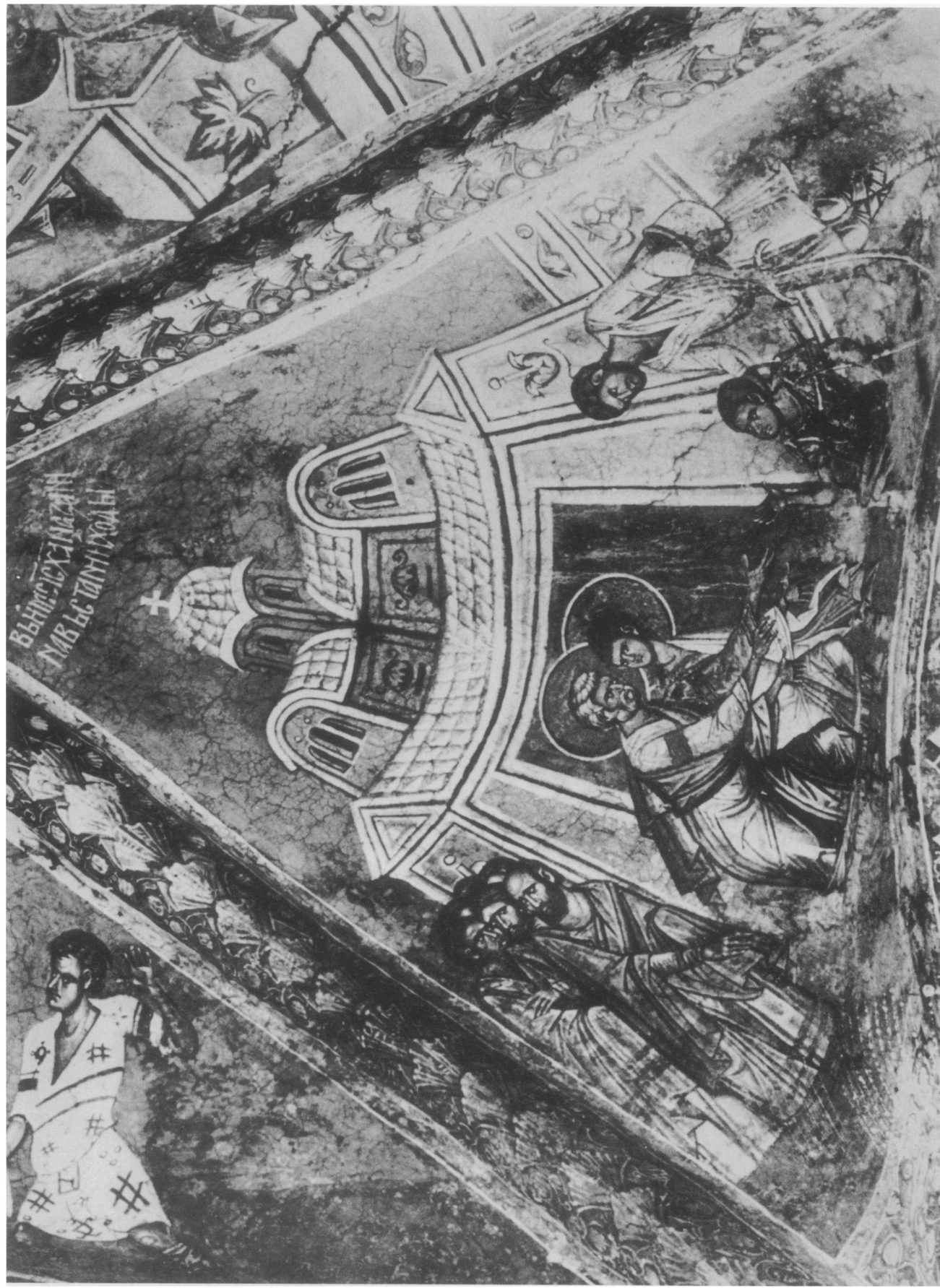


8. Sessa Aurunca, Cathedral Portico.  
Sculpture

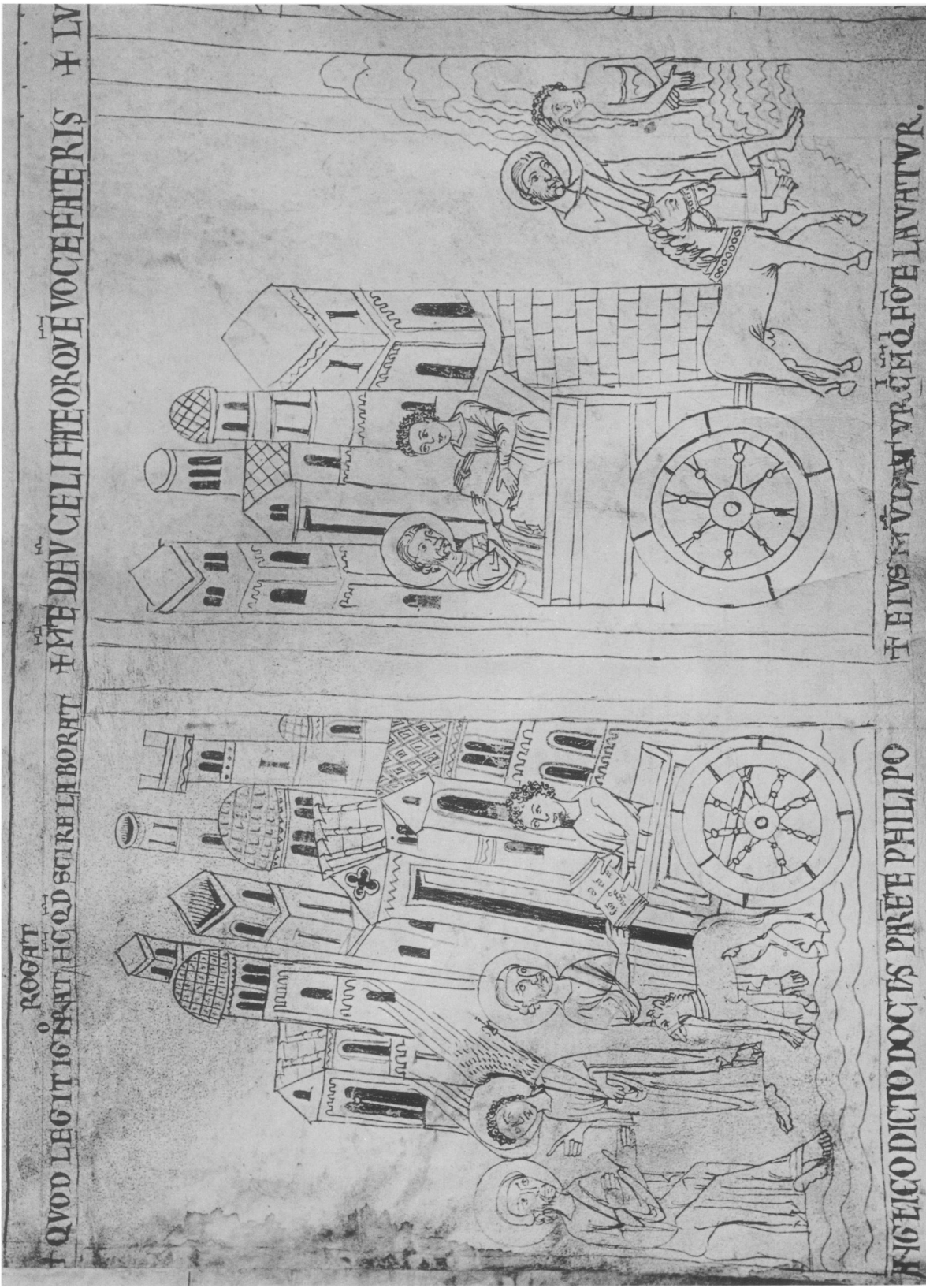
Peter Heals a Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate



9. Paris, Bibl. Nat., cod. gr. 102, fol. 7v, Peter Heals a Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate,  
The Liberation of Peter, The Martyrdom of James, and The Stoning of Stephen

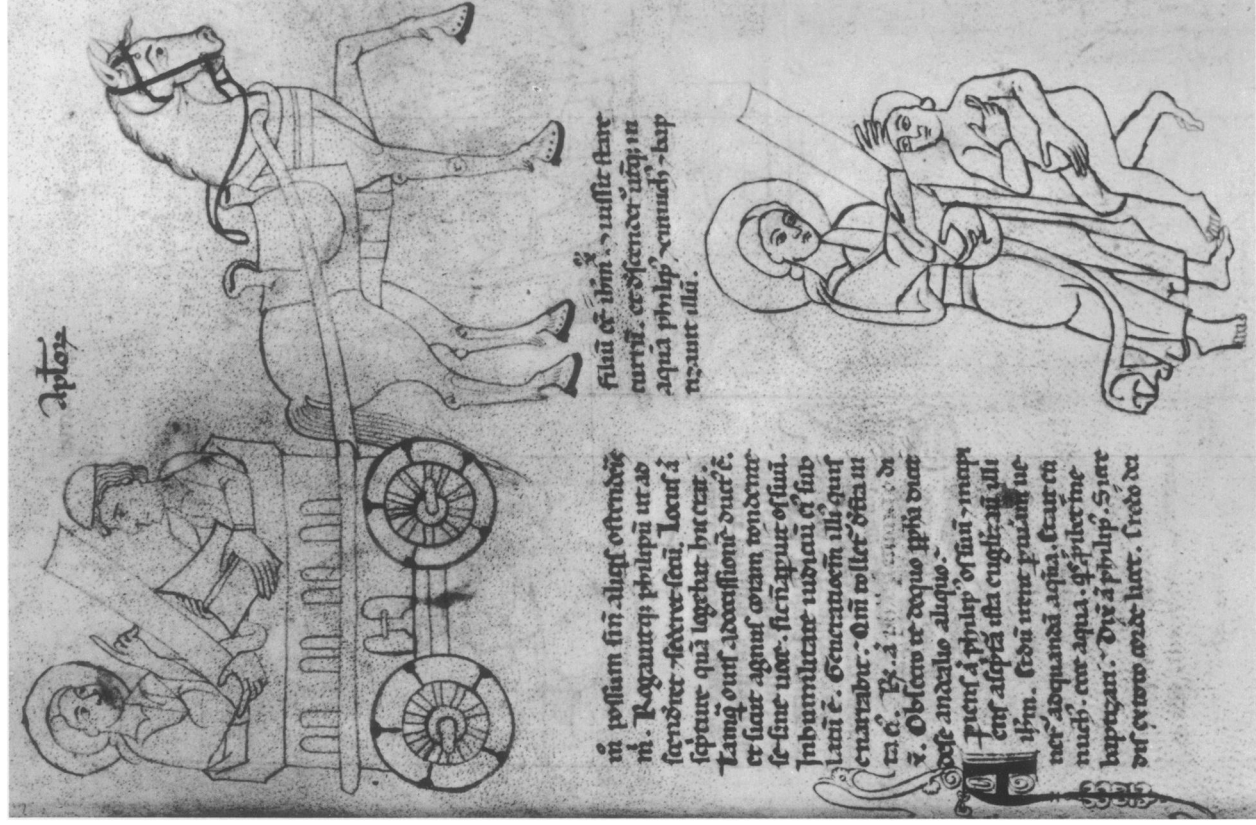


10. Dečani, Monastery Church. Fresco, Peter Heals a Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate

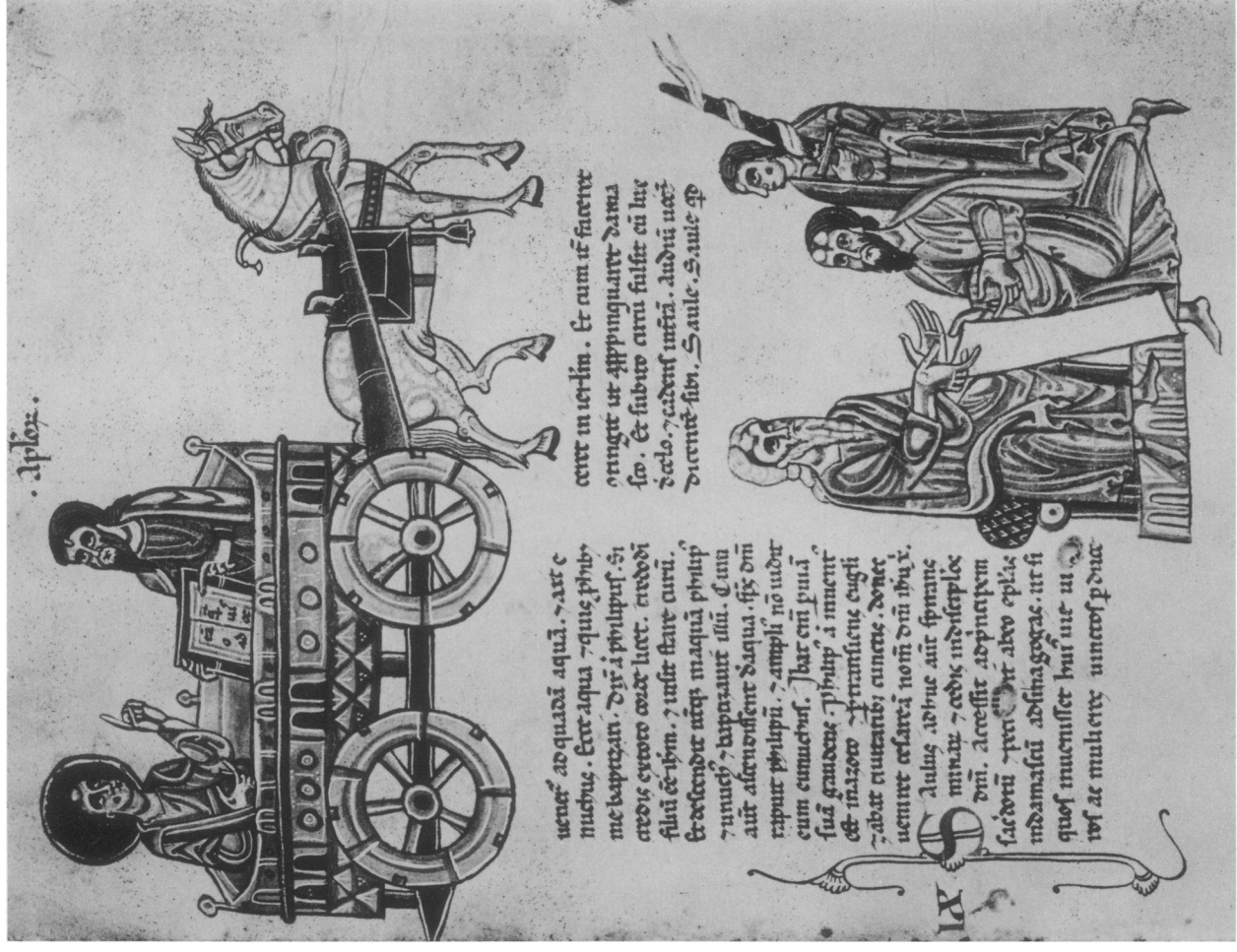


11. Vercelli Rotulus, Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch





12. Giustiniani Codex, fol. 128r, Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch



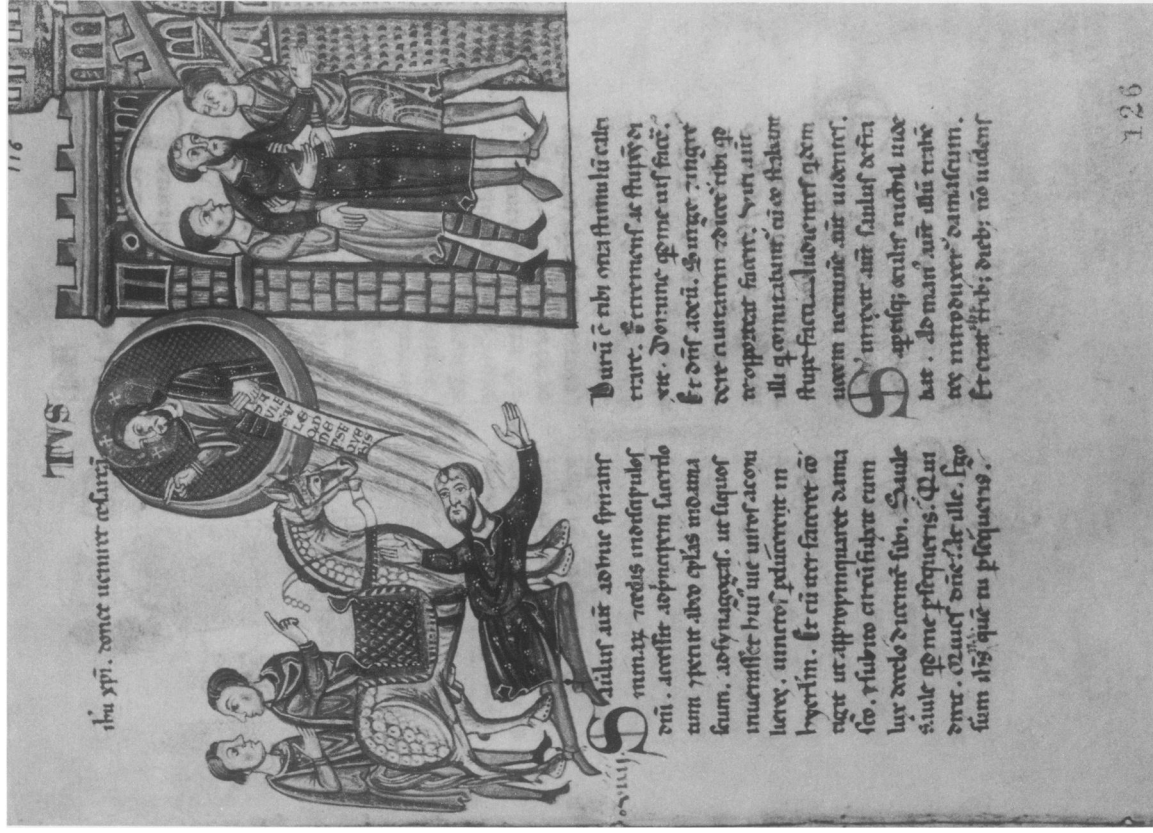
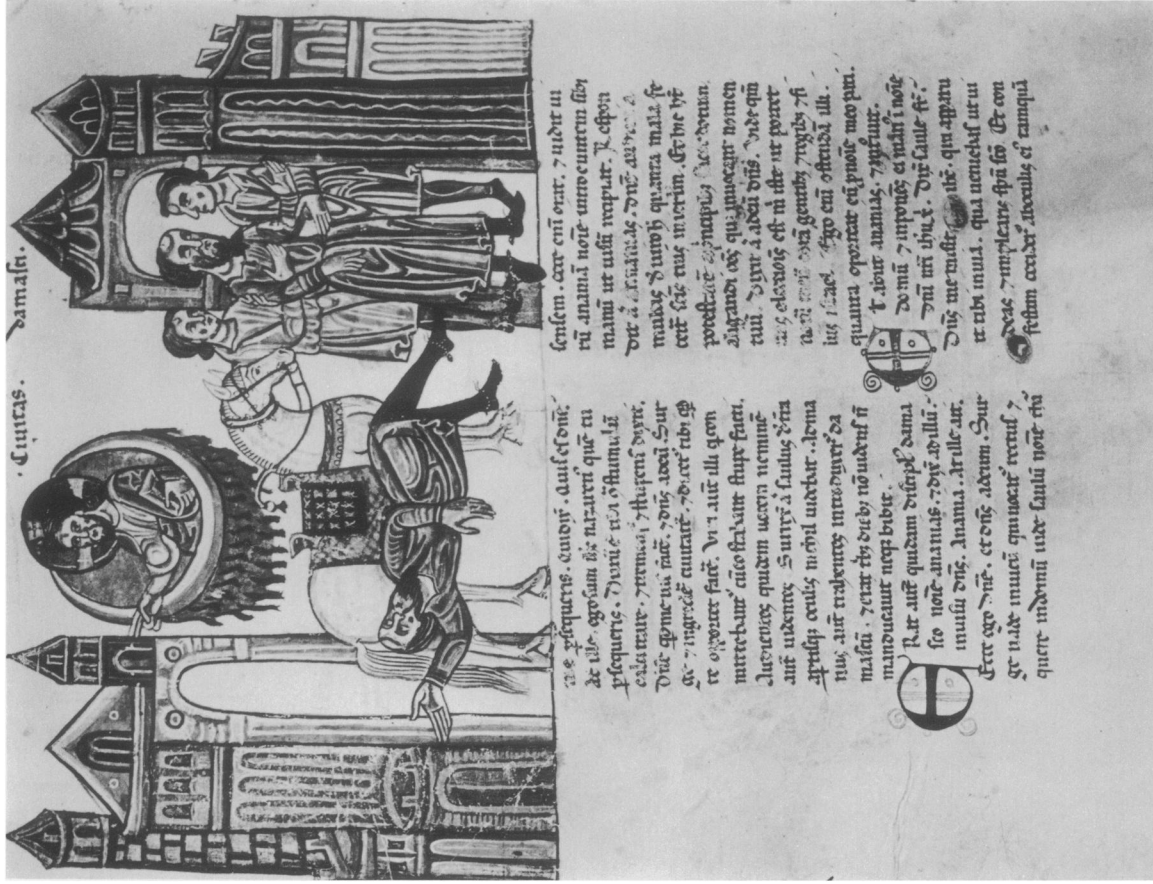
13. Vatican Library, cod. lat. 39, fol. 91r, Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch, and Saul Receives Letters



14. Dečani, Monastery Church. Fresco



15. Vatican Library, cod. gr. 1613, p. 107  
Philip and the Ethiopian Eunuch

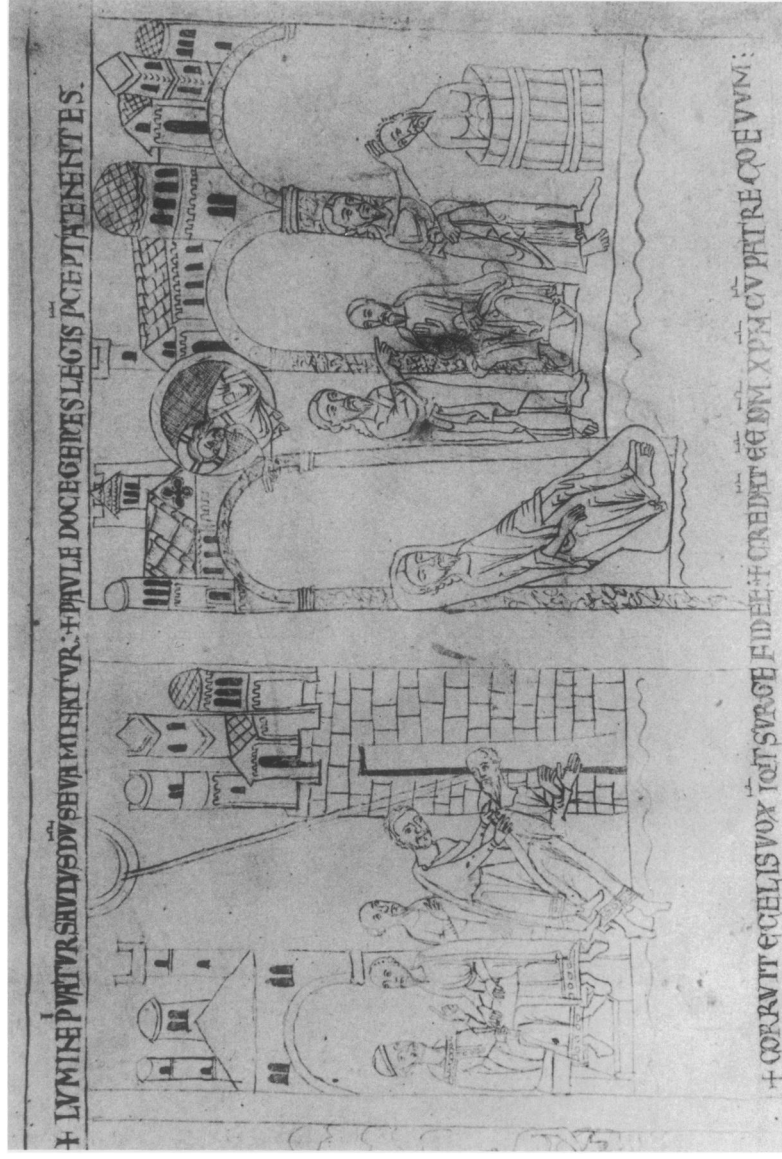
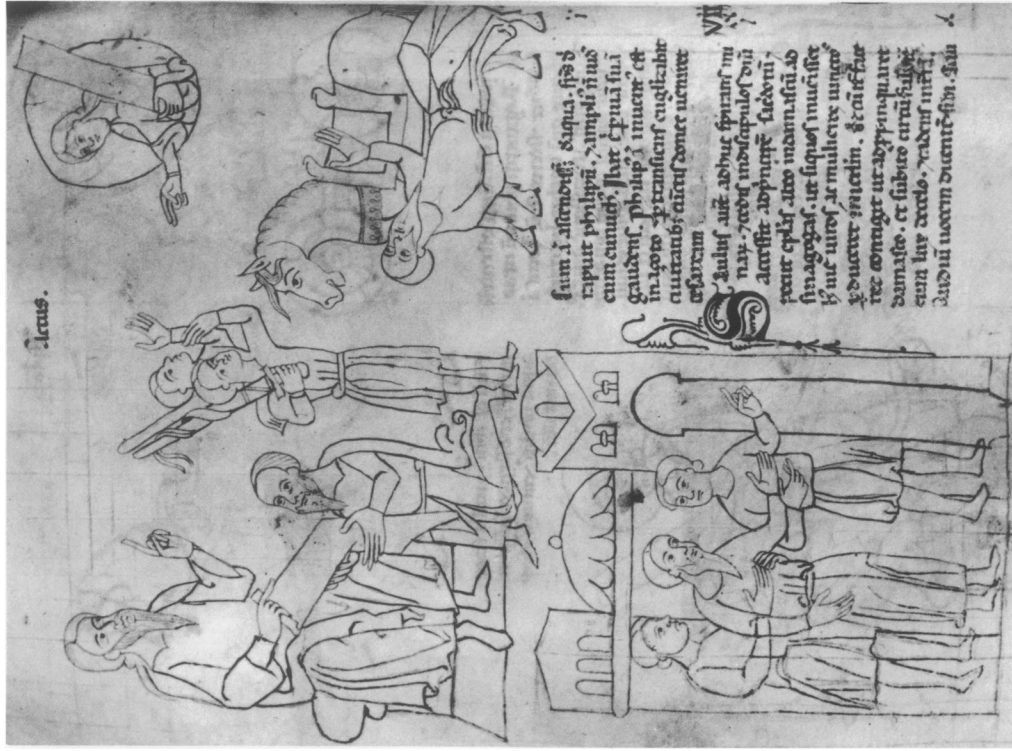


16. Vatican Library, cod. lat. 39, fol. 91<sup>v</sup>

17. Vatican Library, cod. Chigi A.IV.74, fol. 126<sup>r</sup>

## The Conversion of Paul and Paul Led to Damascus







20. Rome, San Paolo fuori le mura. Bible, fol. 310(cccvii)ᵛ, Scenes from the Life of Paul

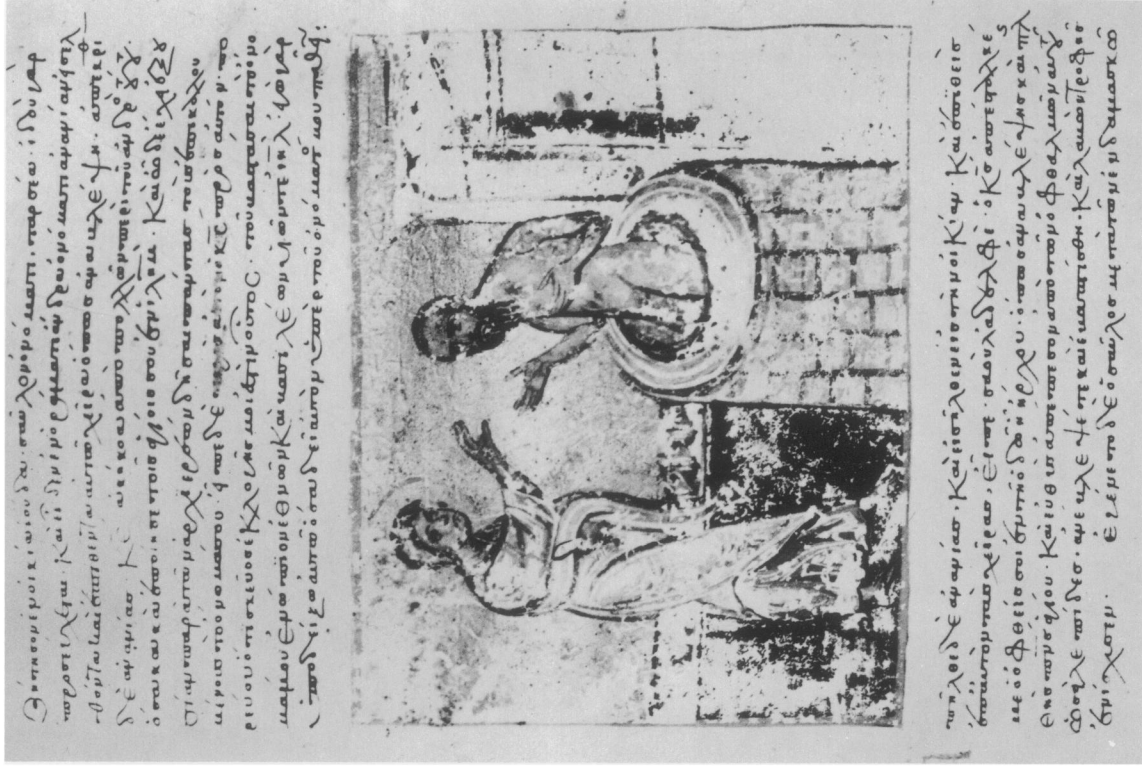




21. Vatican Library, cod. gr. 699, fol. 83v, The Conversion of Paul and Paul Led to Damascus



22. Dečani, Monastery Church. Fresco, Saul Receives Letters, The Conversion of Paul, and Paul Led to Damascus



23. University of Chicago Library, cod. 965, fol. 115v,  
The Baptism of Paul



24. Dečani, Monastery Church. Fresco, Philip Baptizes the Eunuch and The Baptism of Paul





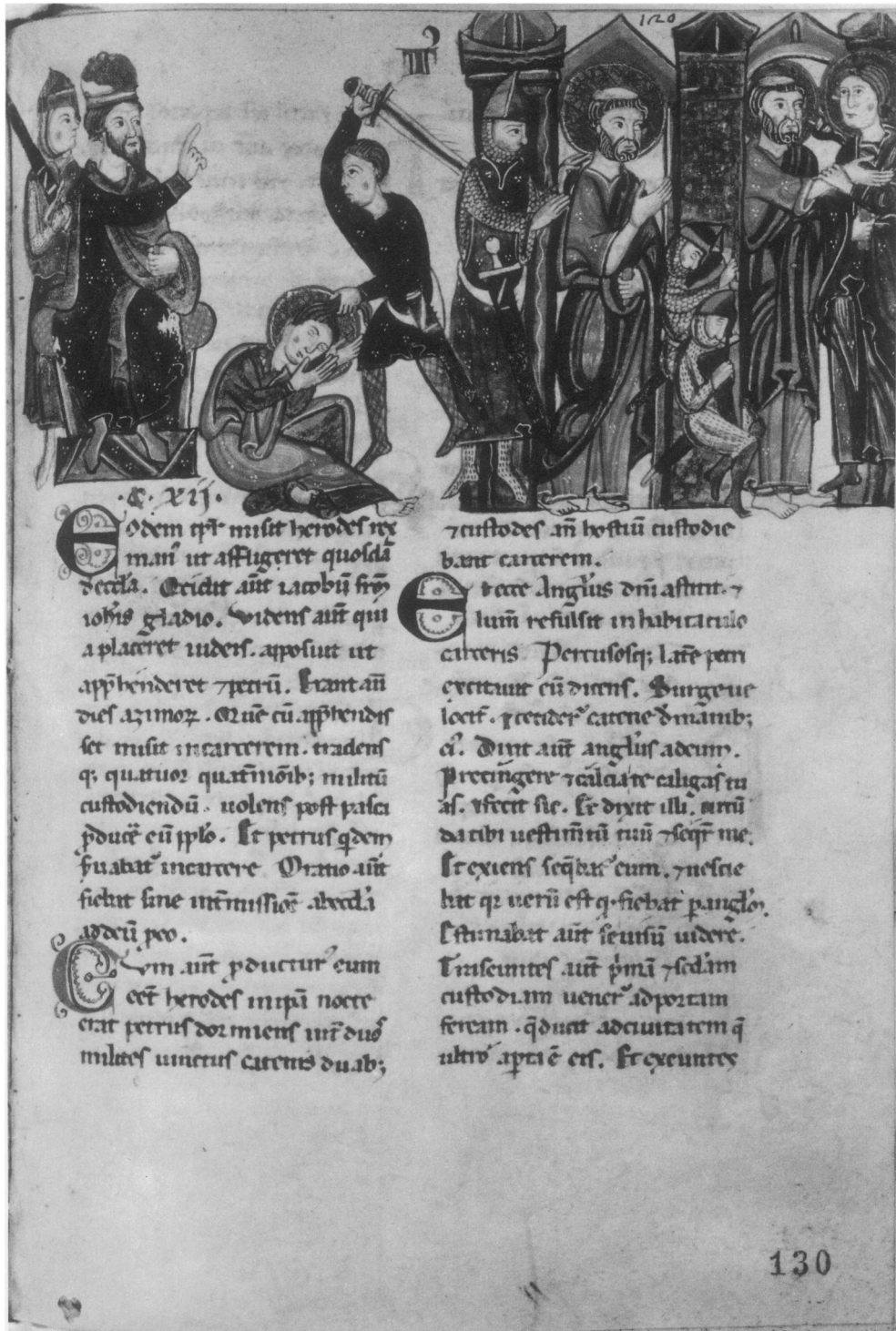
7 antiochiam nemini loquentes  
verbum nisi solum iudeis.

**E**rant autem quidam ex eis viri apri  
7 ceteri qui cum introissent in an-  
thiam loquebantur 7 egrediebantur ad  
multos dominum ihesum. 7 erat manus  
domini cum eis. Multique nostris credentium  
quisque est ad dominum. Pervenit autem sermo  
ad aures ecclesie que erat iherusalem fr-  
atrum. 7 miser barnaba usque ad antio-  
chiam. Qui cum pervenisset 7 vidisset gra-  
tiam dei. gaudens est 7 confortabatur om-  
ni in populo corde permanens in domino. qui  
erat vir bonus 7 plenus spiritu sancto. 7 factus  
7 appositus est turba multa ad dominum.  
Pervenit autem et ephorus ut querebat paulum.  
Quem cum invenisset perduxit antiochiam.  
7 annuuntium quod factum sunt in ecclesia  
7 docuit turbam multam. ita ut con-  
minarentur primum antiochie discipu-  
li iam.

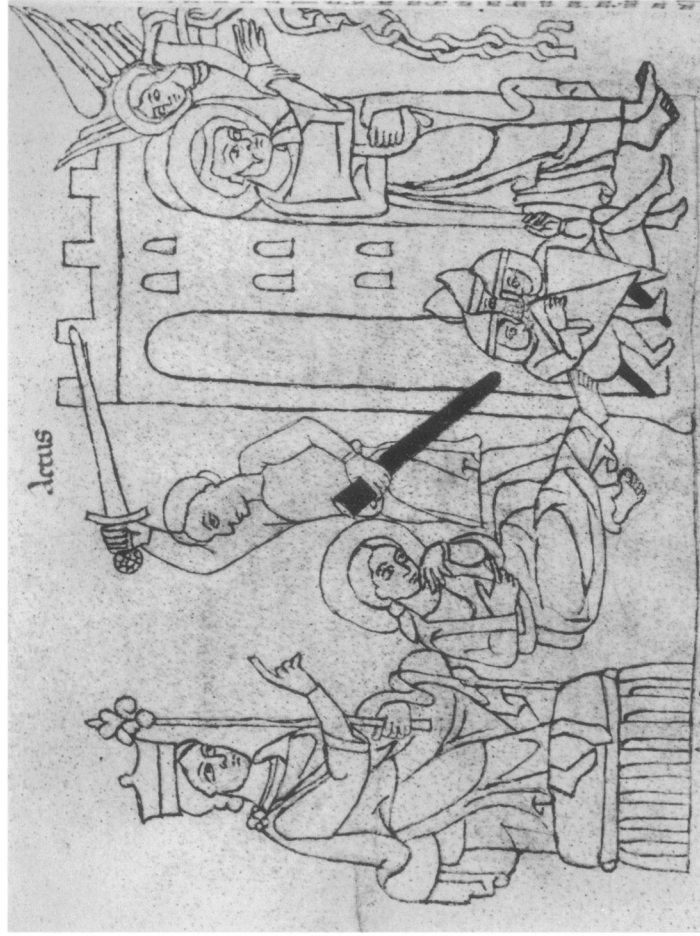
**I**n his autem diebus super venerat ab eis  
solumus propheta antiochia. 7 singens  
ut ex eis nos agabus. Significa-  
bat per spiritum sanctum magnam futuram in-  
iunio orbe terrarum que facta est sub clau-  
dio. Discipuli autem per quos habebat  
proposuerunt in ministerium mittere ha-  
bitantibus in ierusalem fratribus. Qui fecerunt  
mittentes ad seniores per manum bar-  
nade pauli.

**E**odem autem tempore misit herodes rex  
manum ut affligeret quosdam  
de ecclesia. Occidit autem iacobum  
fratrem iohannis gladio. Videns autem qui  
placere iudeis. appropinquavit ad prenden-  
dum petrum. Quem cum apprehendisset misit  
in carcerem. tradensque quatuor quatuor  
mensibus militum ad custodiam.

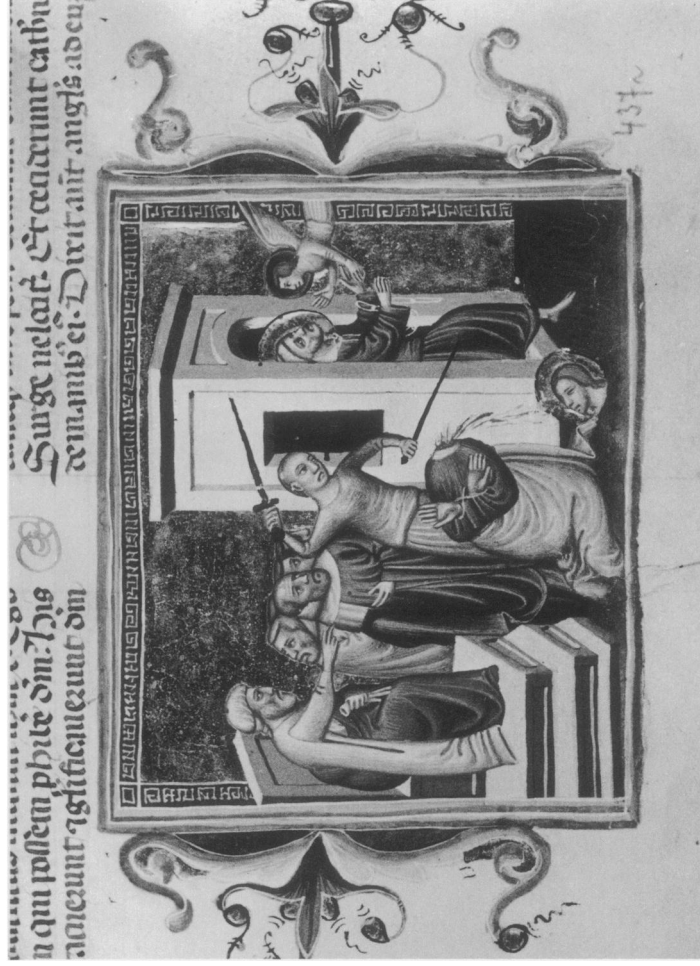




30. Vatican Library, cod. Chigi A.IV.74, fol. 130r, Herod Orders the Execution of James and the Arrest of Peter, and The Liberation of Peter



31. Giustiniani Codex, fol. 131<sup>v</sup>



32. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1191 (theol. 53), fol. 437<sup>r</sup>

Herod Orders the Execution of James, and The Liberation of Peter

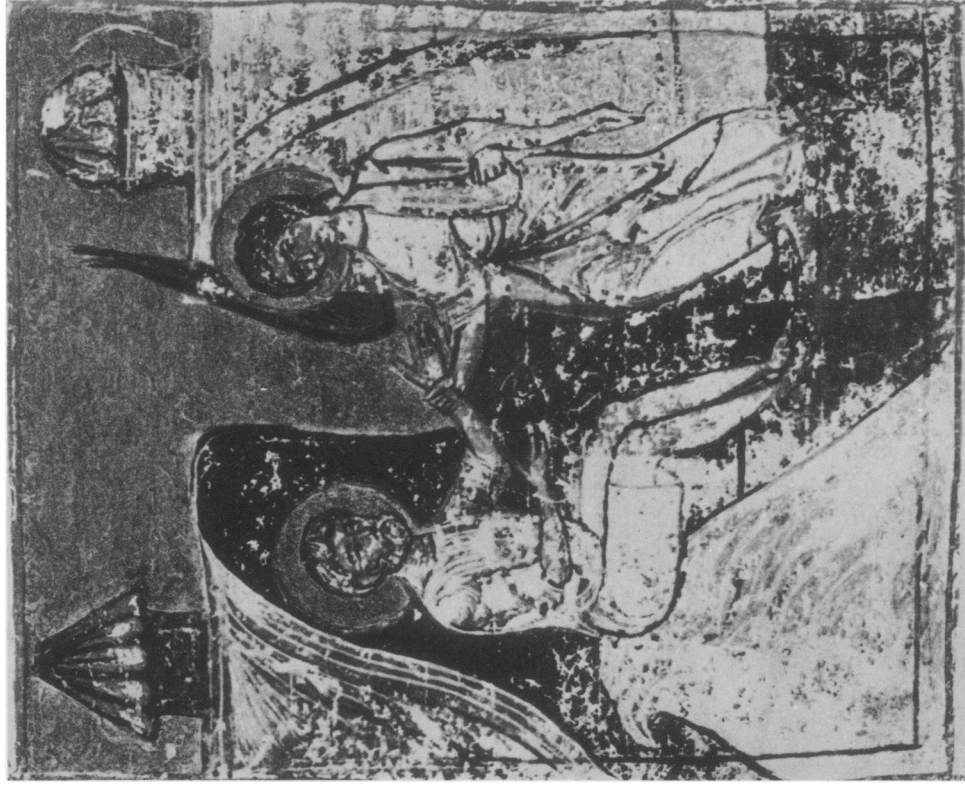




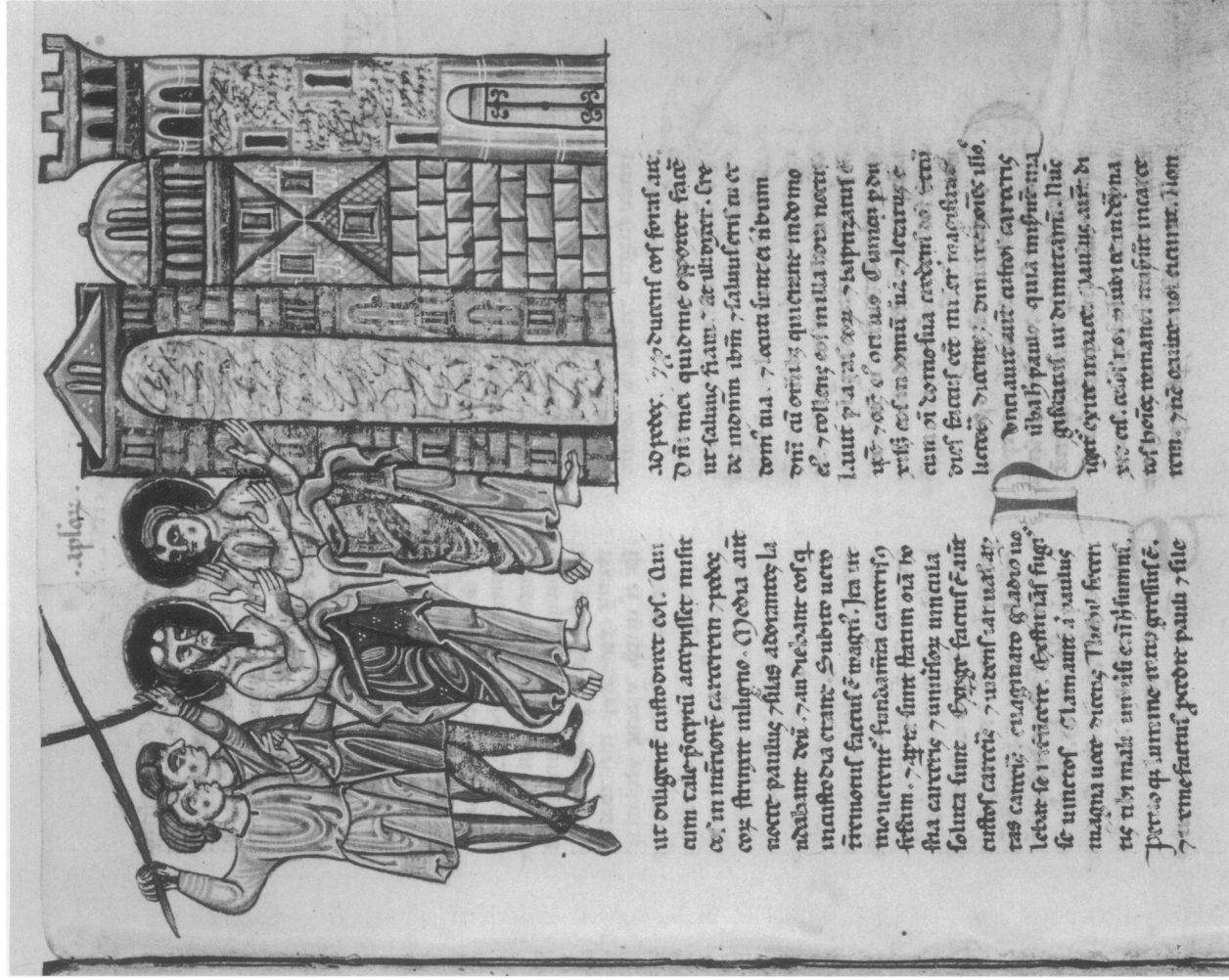
33. Dečani, Monastery Church. Fresco, The Arrest and Liberation of Peter



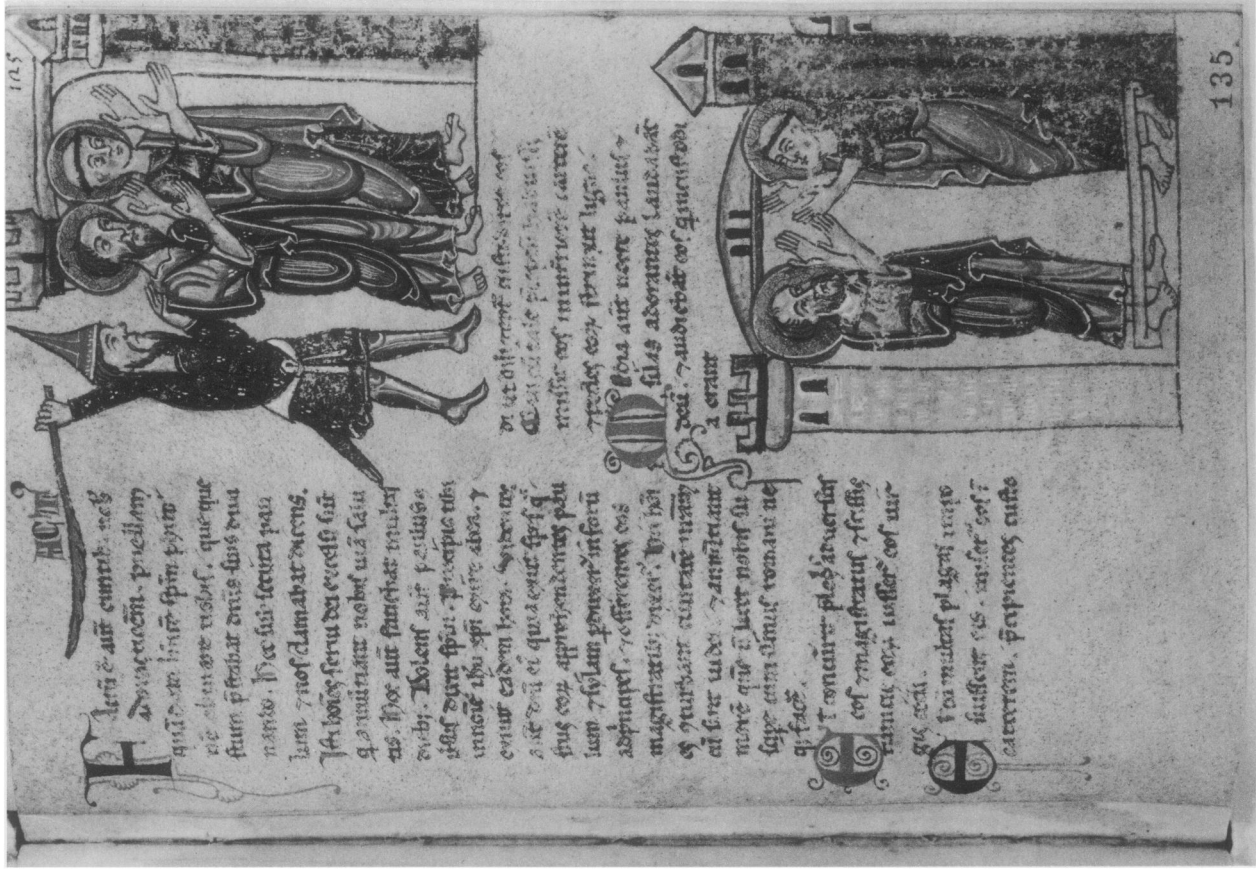
34. Palermo, Capella Palatina. Mosaic



35. University of Chicago Library, cod. 965, fol. 119v



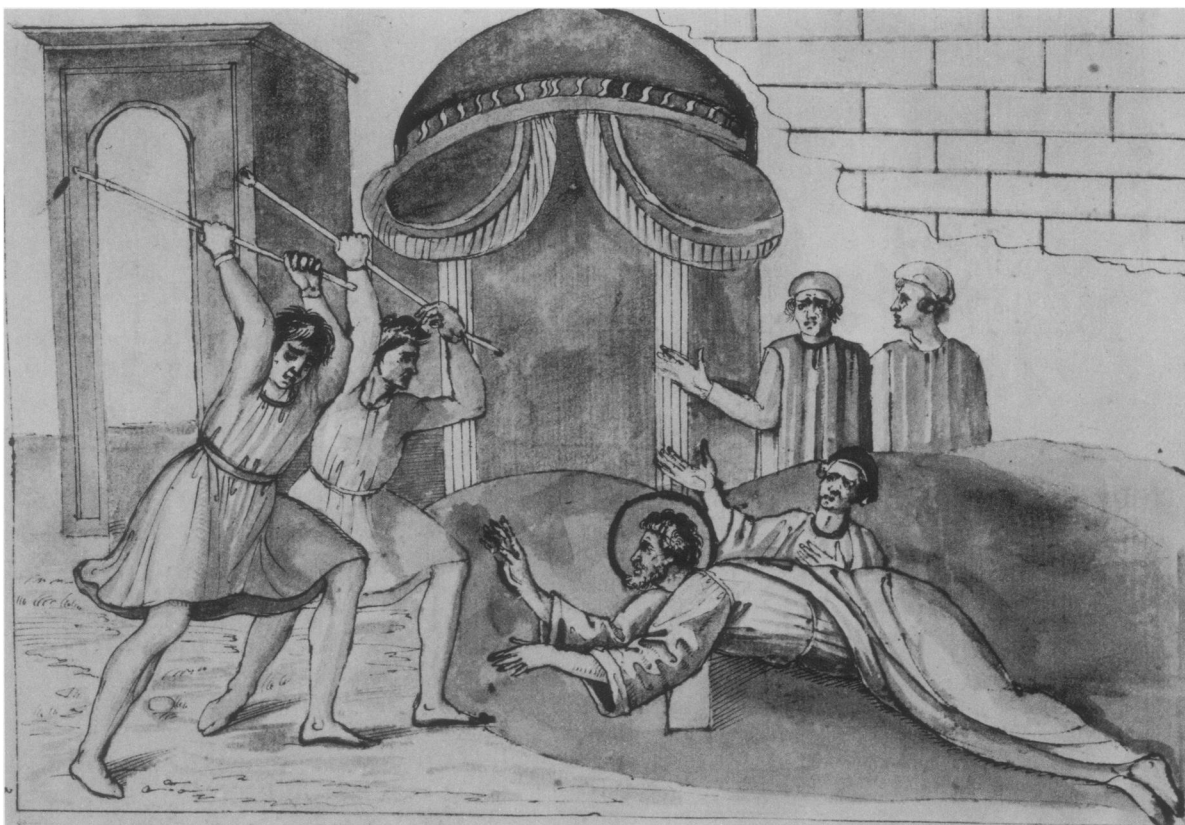
36. Vatican Library, cod. lat. 39, fol. 98r, The Flogging of Paul and Silas



37. Vatican Library, cod. Chigi A.IV.74, fol. 135r, The Flogging of Paul and Silas, and Paul and Silas in the Stocks







40. Vatican Library, cod. Barb. lat. 4406, fol. 97r



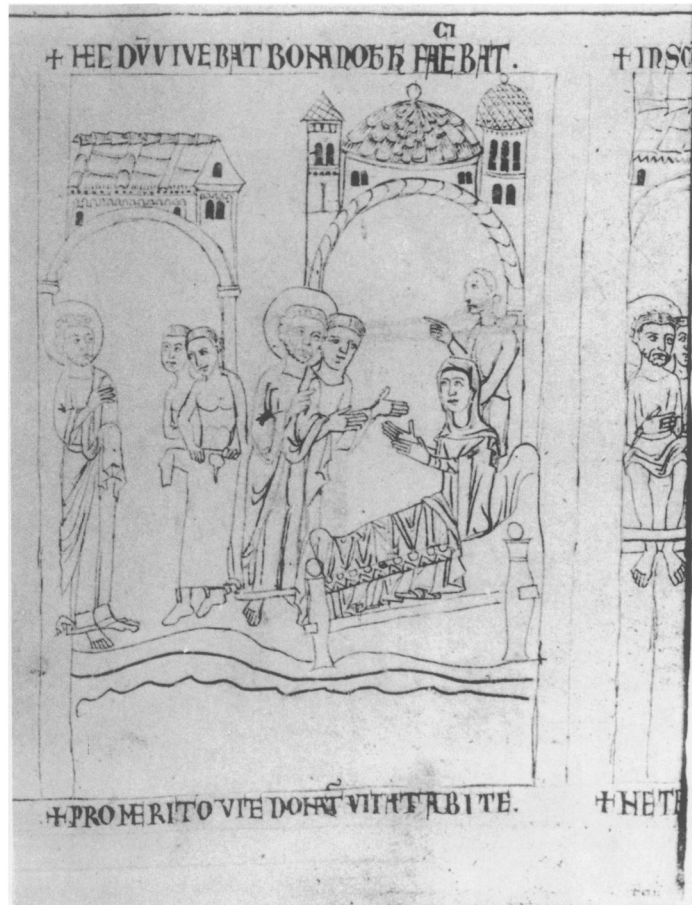
41. Dečani, Monastery Church. Restoration Drawing (by Janet Brooke)



42. Giustiniani Codex, fol. 129v

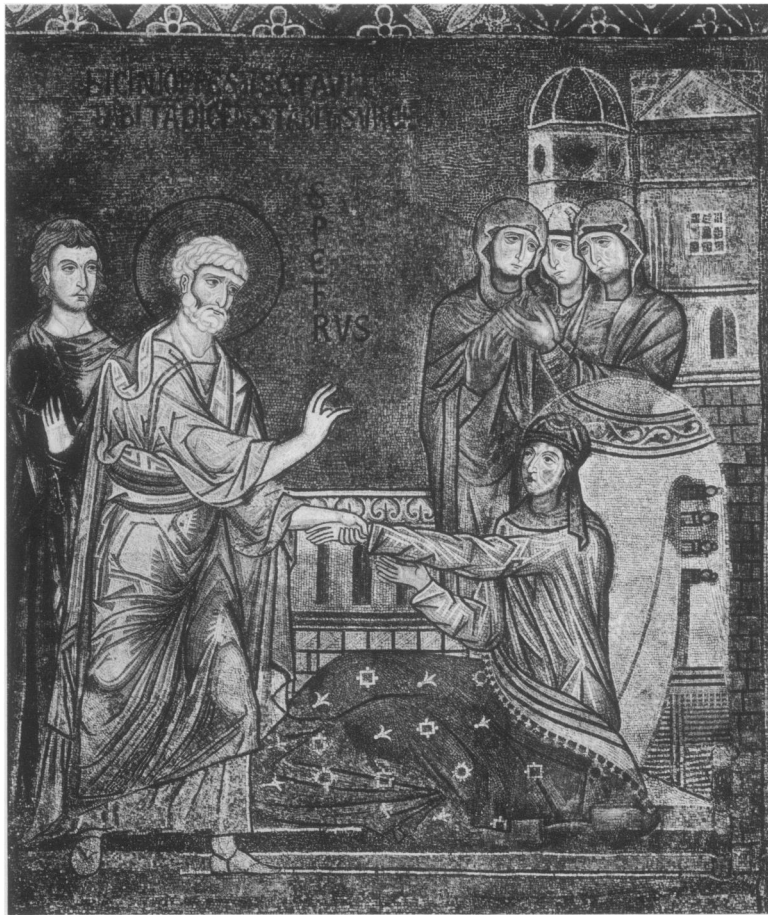


43. Vatican Library, cod. Chigi A.IV.74,  
 fol. 127v

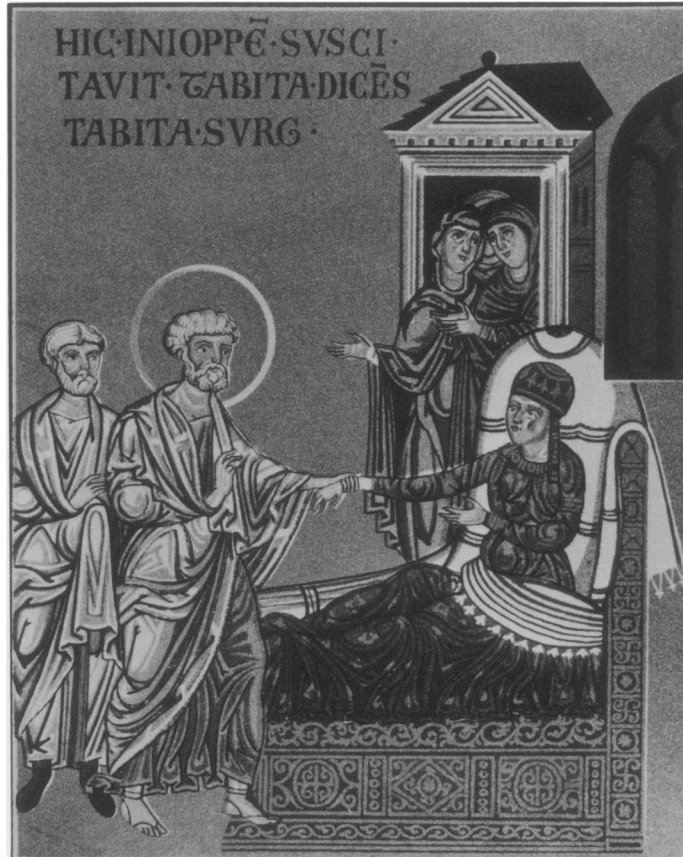


44. Vercelli Rotulus





45. Palermo, Capella Palatina. Mosaic

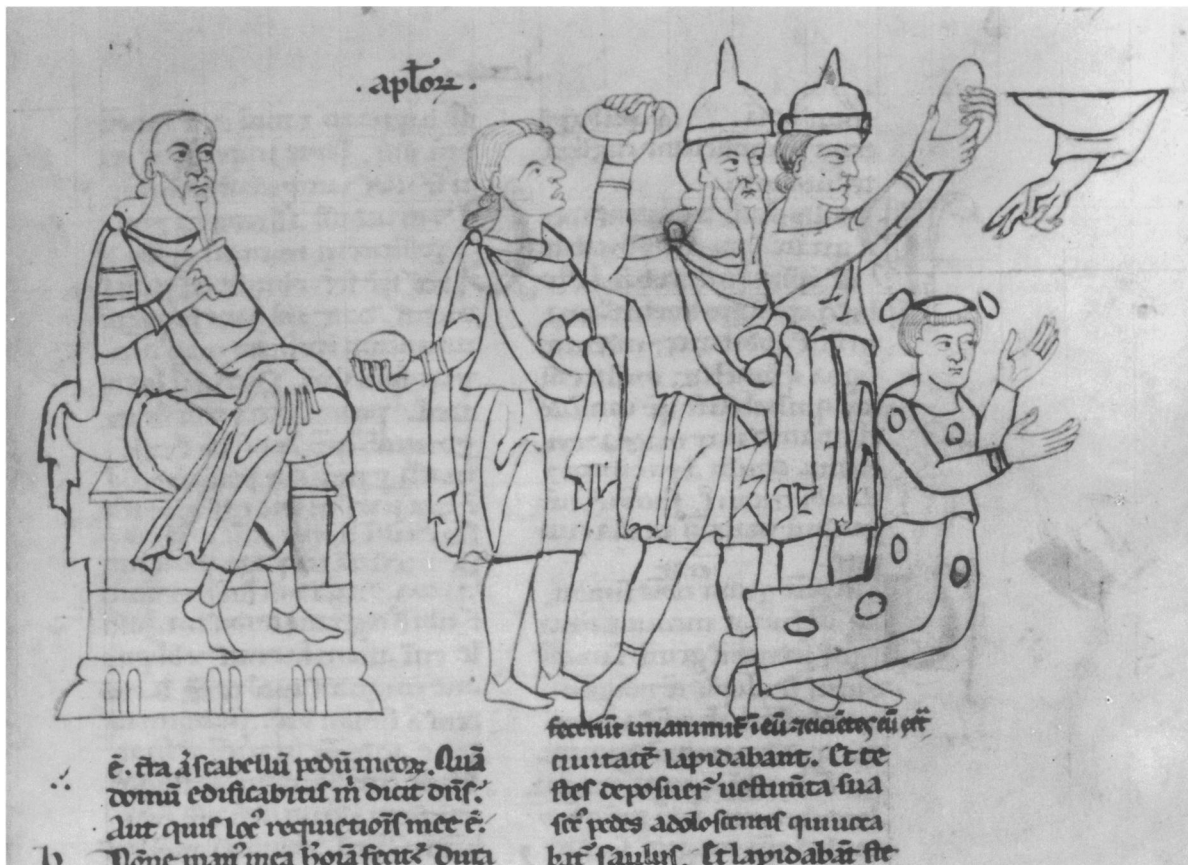


46. Monreale, South Chapel

The Raising of Tabitha



The Stoning of Stephen



49. Giustiniani Codex, fol. 127r



50. Abbey Collection, cod. 7345, fol. 432v

The Stoning of Stephen



51. Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1191 (theol. 53), fol. 435r



52. Dečani, Monastery Church. Fresco

The Stoning of Stephen



# APPENDIX

## ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES IN SELECTED ITALIAN AND BYZANTINE

	Vatican, cod. lat. 39	Vatican, cod. Chigi A.IV.74	Giustiniani Codex	Vercelli Rotulus	Sessa Aurunca	Abbey cod. 7345	Vienna cod. 1191
Ascension (Acts 1:9-10)	fol. 84 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 116 <sup>v</sup>	fol. 121 <sup>v</sup>			fol. 450 <sup>r</sup> (Acts)	fol. 432
Peter and the Jerusalem Leaders (1:15-22)							
Election of Matthias (1:23-26)							
Descent of the Holy Spirit (2:1-4)	fol. 85 <sup>v</sup>	fol. 117 <sup>v</sup>	fol. 122 <sup>v</sup>	×			fol. 432
Peter Heals a Lame Man at the Beautiful Gate (3:1-8)	fol. 86 <sup>v</sup>	fol. 119 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 123 <sup>v</sup>	×	×		fol. 433
Peter and John Before the High Priests (4:5-12)							
Sin of Ananias and Sapphira (5:1-8)				×	×		fol. 433
Peter and John Heal with their Shadows (5:15-16)							
Peter and John Before the Sanhedrin (5:27-32)							
Peter and John Flogged (5:40)							
Stoning of Stephen (7:58-60)	fol. 90 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 124 <sup>v</sup>	fol. 127 <sup>r</sup>			fol. 432 <sup>v</sup> (2 Cor.)	fol. 435
Burial of Stephen (8:2)							
Simon Magus Rebuked (8:18-24)				×			
Philip Sequence (8:26-40):							
Philip Addressed by an Angel				×			
Philip Meets the Eunuch				×			
Philip Instructs the Eunuch	fol. 91 <sup>r</sup>		fol. 128 <sup>r</sup>	×			
Philip Baptizes the Eunuch			fol. 128 <sup>r</sup>	×			
Philip Raised up by an Angel							
Damascus Sequence (9:1-25):							
Saul Receives Letters	fol. 91 <sup>r</sup>		fol. 128 <sup>v</sup>	×		fol. 436 <sup>r</sup>	
Conversion of Paul	fol. 91 <sup>v</sup>	fol. 126 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 128 <sup>v</sup>	×		fol. 436 <sup>r</sup> (Gal.)	fol. 435
Paul Led to Damascus	fol. 91 <sup>v</sup>	fol. 126 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 128 <sup>v</sup>				
Dream of Ananias				×			
Paul Healed by Ananias				×			
Baptism of Paul	fol. 92 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 126 <sup>v</sup>	fol. 129 <sup>r</sup>	×			
Dispute with the Jews							
Escape from Damascus						fol. 437 <sup>v</sup> (Eph.)	
Healing of Aeneas (9:32-34)			fol. 129 <sup>v</sup>	×	×		
Raising of Tabitha (9:36-41)		fol. 127 <sup>v</sup>	fol. 129 <sup>v</sup>	×			

\* See note 64 *supra*.



# APPENDIX

## THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES IN SELECTED ITALIAN AND BYZANTINE MONUMENTS

tican, .Chigi [V.74	Giustiniani Codex	Vercelli Rotulus	Sessa Aurunca	Abbey cod. 7345	Vienna, cod. 1191	Sicilian Mosaics	Rocke- feller- McCormick N.T.	Paris, cod. gr. 102	Dečani frescoes	“Painter’s Manual”
l. 116 <sup>v</sup>	fol. 121 <sup>v</sup>			fol. 450 <sup>r</sup> (Acts)	fol. 432 <sup>r</sup>		fol. 106 <sup>r</sup> fol. 106 <sup>v</sup>			
l. 117 <sup>v</sup>	fol. 122 <sup>v</sup>	×			fol. 432 <sup>v</sup>	×	fol. 107 <sup>r</sup>			
l. 119 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 123 <sup>v</sup>	×	×		fol. 433 <sup>r</sup>	×	fol. 108 <sup>v</sup>	×	×	×
		×	×		fol. 433 <sup>v</sup>		fol. 109 <sup>v</sup> fol. 111 <sup>r</sup>		×	×
									×	
									×	
l. 124 <sup>v</sup>	fol. 127 <sup>r</sup>			fol. 432 <sup>v</sup> (2 Cor.)	fol. 435 <sup>r</sup>		fol. 114 <sup>v</sup>	×	×	
		×							?	
		×								
	fol. 128 <sup>r</sup> fol. 128 <sup>r</sup>	×							×	
		×							×	
	fol. 128 <sup>v</sup> fol. 128 <sup>v</sup>	×		fol. 436 <sup>r</sup> fol. 436 <sup>r</sup> (Gal.)	fol. 435 <sup>v</sup>	×			×	×
l. 126 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 128 <sup>v</sup>	×				×	fol. 115 <sup>r</sup>		×	
		×				×				
l. 126 <sup>v</sup>	fol. 129 <sup>r</sup>	×				×	fol. 115 <sup>v</sup>		×	×
				fol. 437 <sup>v</sup> (Eph.)		×			×	×
	fol. 129 <sup>v</sup> fol. 129 <sup>v</sup>	×	×			×	fol. 116 <sup>v</sup>			×

APPENDIX (cont.)

	Vatican, cod. lat. 39	Vatican, cod. Chigi A.IV.74	Giustiniani Codex	Vercelli Rotulus	Sessa Aurunca	Abbey cod. 7345	Vienna cod. 1191
Vision of Peter (10:11–16)	fol. 93 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 128 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 130 <sup>r</sup>	×	×	fol. 465 <sup>r</sup> (1 Peter)	
Peter-Cornelius Sequence (10:17–48):							
Peter Receives Ambassadors				×			
Cornelius Greets Peter				×	×		
Cornelius Visited by Angel					×		
Peter Baptizes Converts				×			
Peter-James Sequence (12:1–10):							
Herod Orders Persecutions	fol. 94 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 130 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 131 <sup>v</sup>		×		fol. 43'
Beheading of James	fol. 94 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 130 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 131 <sup>v</sup>		×		fol. 43'
Arrest of Peter	fol. 94 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 130 <sup>r</sup>					
Peter Visited in Prison by an Angel					×		
Liberation of Peter	fol. 94 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 130 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 131 <sup>v</sup>		×		fol. 43'
Herod Struck Down (12:21–23)			fol. 132 <sup>r</sup>				
Blinding of Elymas (13:8–12)							
Paul in the Synagogue (13:14–41)	fol. 95 <sup>v</sup>		fol. 133 <sup>r</sup>	×			
Paul Heals a Lame Man at Lystra (14:8–10)	fol. 96 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 132 <sup>v</sup>	fol. 133 <sup>v</sup>			fol. 439 <sup>r</sup> (Phil.)	
Phillippi Sequence (16:16–33):							
Miracle of the Evil Spirit	fol. 97 <sup>v</sup>		fol. 135 <sup>r</sup>	×		fol. 440 <sup>r</sup> (Col.)	
Paul and Silas Flogged and Imprisoned	fol. 98 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 135 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 135 <sup>v</sup>	×		fol. 440 <sup>r</sup> (Col.)	
Paul and Silas in the Stocks		fol. 135 <sup>r</sup>	fol. 135 <sup>v</sup>	×			
Baptism of the Jailer's Family				×			
Paul Led to Gallio (18:12–17)		fol. 137 <sup>v</sup>					
Paul in a Boat with Priscilla and Aquila (18:18)		fol. 137 <sup>v</sup>	fol. 138 <sup>v</sup>				
Raising of Eutychus (20:9–12)				×			
Paul and Luke in a Ship (21:1–8)							fol. 44
Prophecy of Agabus (21:11–13)				×			
Paul Beaten in Jerusalem (21:27–33)				×			
Paul Before the High Priest (24:1–22)							fol. 44
Storm at Sea (27:14–20)							fol. 44
Malta Sequence (28:3–8):							
Miracle of the Viper			fol. 143 <sup>r</sup>			fol. 423 <sup>r</sup> (Rom.)	fol. 44
Paul Heals the Father of Publius			fol. 143 <sup>v</sup>				

## APPENDIX (cont.)

[illegible]